342 house there like those upstream. Generally they were built of thin tule mats and were quite long. Some of them were at least one hundred feet long. A sort of wooden ridge was erected on crotched poles set in the ground and the tule mats were leaned up against it. Everything else was of a more temporary nature than I was used to at Sycamore Creek [Choinimni territory].[33]

342 554 622 [184 591] A chief's house was usually larger than the rest, likewise his storehouses. J.A. remembers Konti's which stood on a rise of ground: "he was always having little parties there." The long house made possible the practice of patrilocal residence customary with the lake people (but not with those of the foothills).

343 The bottoms of mat-covered storage bins were raised off the ground. When a tree was available, a storage bin would be set up in its branches. Their construction was like that of the foothills (see Wukchumni).

The ramada was used throughout the lake region.

Subsistence

22 262 The subsistence of the tular region was composed mainly of water birds, fish, rabbits, and two staple flours made from iris seed and tule roots. According to M.G. deer meat was not obtainable even by trade, antelope being the only available large game animal. Bear meat, which the Tachi were not afraid to eat, was also scarce. Elk were too fleet for a hunter afoot, but were pursued on horseback. Weasels, coyotes, and lizards were not eaten; it is possible some people ate snakes. Bats (čɛ mčɛm) were not eaten, as they were supernatural assistants. [825] Rabbits, cottontails, and squirrels were got by hunters in communal drives on the barren country west of the lake. There long nets were set up and groups of men deployed to herd the creatures into them. Mayfield states that the men formed wings and, armed with sticks two feet long, closed in in a pair of arcs and incapacitated the fleeing animals by hurling the clubs at them.[34]

[231] The eating of dogs M.G. (Tachi) attributed to the Chumut. This practice Powers mentions as generalized Yokuts, saying that the Yokuts raised dogs for the purpose. Estudillo witnessed the killing and eating of dogs at a celebration near the foothills. However, a Kechayi informant denied the practice for her [184] people with a circumstantial story,[35] and Mayfield does not mention it, so the usage may not have extended to the northern foothills.

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[33] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 31.

[34] Ibid., 33.

[35] Powers, 379; Gayton, Estudillo, 75; Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72-74.

Balsa Construction

50 The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o´wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. [516] Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo´wɨn ai´yai according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa´hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. [524] The Tachi informant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

Painting

302 Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was [386] otsoi´amin. The colors were black (ka´lyan) made from charcoal, red (hoi´´iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho´sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were developed as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain comment. Coyote (kai´yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka´nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u´lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (ṭo´hɨl) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su´hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi´yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi´yol) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li´mɨk) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

302 White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

were many songs connected with this practice, but J.A. could not recall them: one song ran, "Now I am making a crown (se´ma) of flowers." And there was an expression, "to go flowering."[352] Old men who could not wander out in the fields would ask children to make crowns for them too. There was no ceremonial significance to this activity, which was probably more widespread than one might expect, as there are hints of it from other recorders. The Miwok wore flowers, "particularly as wreaths," and the Maidu on the American River had a dance in which girls wore flower fillets and pelted spectators with flowers.[353]

KNOWLEDGE

Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc.

The following birds were identified by J.A.; most of them were seen about her house and yard, others, like the crane, were seen during our trips into the fields within a two-mile radius of her home.

The western robin (wipe´l:ts, "singer") "says 'Walk, walk, walk!' when it sings. People in the foothills say that there are going to be lots of blackberries when robins are plentiful." Goldfinches (towi´n:ts; from ṭowo´´o, yellow tule pollen) are named for tule pollen because "they go in among the tules and get yellow dust all over themselves." They were eaten by some people, but J.A. has not eaten them. The common blackbird (Brewer) is called "eyes"(tsa´tsa). Those with white eyes are said to be the females: they are called kuta´nan tsatsa from ku'uts, small round clamshell beads. Western bluebirds (tsoitsoi´´in:) "come from the mountains in winter. They say 'tsu´its, tsu´its, tsu´its' which doesn't mean anything; it is just his word." The mourning dove (upla´li) "sings when she is going to lay an egg." The meadow lark (ula´ti) "says when he sings, 'Where you going? What you saying?'" (hu´yu tuk ma, ha´wa yuk ma). Whippoorwill (wai´wai) feathers were burned, put in water, and drunk by a woman in labor. The whippoorwill's cry was thought to "sound like a baby." American magpie (o´tsots) was pine´ti, advice-giver to the birds in mythical times, "just like a lawyer." Killdeer (ka´tsa) frightened people as they crossed the bridge to the land

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[352] J.A. said, "to go flowering, just like we are doing now." Today, during the wildflower season, every Yokuts home has a bouquet of blossoms thrust in a tin can or jelly glass even though the flowers are profuse outdoors and other domestic furnishings are of the crudest sort.

[353] Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, 222-223; Powers, 325.

136 of the dead. The following birds were named without comment: belted kingfisher (tsutatu´-klas); Steller's jay (tikai´ya [sic]); California jay (tai´tai); hummingbird (general) (hohe´tsui); Gairdner (?) woodpecker (ko'wo-k‹ts); California woodpecker (tiwe´sa); California [Valley] quail (saka´la) were scarce in old days but common now; red-shafted woodpecker [Flicker] (pala´tat); great blue heron (wa´hat); northern shrike (pe´lpil); western mockingbird (tikai´ya [sic]); yellow-headed blackbird (tolo´heno); pelican (ha´hal); Cooper's hawk (po´hiyon); kingfisher, variant (saka´ka); crow (ka´nkas); raven (ho´toi); sandhill crane (u´lats); prairie falcon (li´m‹k); chicken hawk (sp. ?) (su´hup); eagle (sp. ?) (to´h‹l).

The following were not identified but were described with considerable accuracy by J.A.; dubious descriptions are given with the informant's own words. Flies in general (mo´nai), housefly (pisa´tna), blowfly (ka´msal). Hornet [184 (?) (mi´nel); the Chunut and Tachi did not eat 262] the nests with larvae but know Choinimni, Wukchumni, and other foothill people did. The ground wasp (po'ao´nai) "is mean, lives in the ground, makes no honey and just raises young ones." The Telamni ate the young roasted on [262] coals, a dish called tap‹´si, which was eaten with acorn mush. The furry bumblebee (lo´k'o) was known and "a bee with a hard back" (was'ha´lu). Small moths (a´nt'sa) and a "night" moth (toino´'‹n ant'sa) were distinguished, while a very large spotted moth was called "eats dead people" (tataho ta´'ats) and literally was believed to do so. Butterflies in general (woge´ki); the Monarch butterfly was called metaphorically "big bee" (mat‹k lo´k'o), and the "cabbage" butterfly descriptively "little white butterfly" (tso´lol witsa´ha wogeki). Dragonflies (islo´li), mosquitoes (kas'ho´p), a black beetle (te´t‹l), and the water weaver (soi´yol?) were mentioned by J.A. Small ants, either red or black, were called by the same name (ke´n‹ts); tree ants (ha´sa') "smelled bad when killed"; the big ants which made hills were called "crazy ants" (lok'e´'‹ts ken‹ts).[29]

The tarantula (tu´mun) was "a widow a long time ago"; less commonly the tarantula was called "bear" (noho´'o). J.A. does not think they were poisonous, "just mean, Mexicans sometimes make them fight." A large white spider (ko´lol k‹´lwai) makes a web (otsti´ho) "just like crochet. We say about Spider', 'He

[192 828] [29]J.A. says this is derived from the Spanish loco, that there was no concept or word "crazy" in the old times. Three young girls who ran around with Mexicans, got drunk, etc., were called both loco and alete´'‹ts by the other Indians. The latter word means foolish or irresponsible, "crazy" in the American slang sense, not demented. J.A. insisted that alete´'‹ts is not a native word, but I can find no Spanish source for it.

136 carries string' (to´ntom si´lwa)." The black spider with red spot on belly (Black Widow?) is
●825 called me´tsa, a term applied to powerful shamans, which means "true, real, big, powerful." Another spider with black, red, and yellow markings is called "coyote" (cai´'yu) "because every time it is thrown away it comes back. These are all mean and bite. The Wowol call to be bitten by one 'to be broken' (ta´ṭsiṭa´ṭai)." This is because a paralysis results so the limb is immovable "like broken
[752] to pieces." There was no attempt at medicinal cure; no swelling resulted and mobility eventually returned.

The centipede (ta·ka´l ta·ka´l) was feared because "it stung with its feet and there was no cure, you just died." The scorpion (pite´-t·ts) was "partner to that other one [centipede], he lives in the ground, has six legs, a round body and a little tail that sticks up and stings you. It hurts awful but you don't die."

136 Lizards in general were called ko´ntedi. "Kontedi was Coyote's son." A big blue lizard
825 was solo´toi´i. A small lizard (wile´li) and
773 another one "with colors on it" were known in the foothills and called by the same name. "This one sang when he went to dance: 'You are not supernatural; Lizard is supernatural' (o´ho ma ṭ·´pni; wile´li ṭ·´pni)." Lizard was sometimes euphemistically referred to as "my ten fingers" (ṭi´y· nan pu´ntuk), referring to his hands which served as the pattern for human hands.[25]

Pollywog (se·yao´siyao´i) "had some kind of song in old times; another one (po´'ol·lwai) was like a pollywog but bigger." Waterdog (we´tpot) "looked just like a baby." Another creature which might be a skink, as he was "something like a waterdog but more like a lizard," was called alaṭa´na.

136 Once I [J.A.] was out picking wild onions;
825 I was kneeling on the ground when I heard something say "tststs" near by. "What's that?" I said. My nephew showed me an alaṭana right under my knees. He said, "That's alaṭana. Isn't he pretty?" Then he told me that you must always say how pretty he was or he would make you sick. So I just kept on picking onions and said, "My, isn't he pretty," although I didn't know whether it was a boy or a girl. He has little eyes, nose, mouth, and ears just like a person.

Frogs in general were called koi´'·tawat. The bullfrog was called e'oi´·ts by the Tachi, but wipel·ts (singer) by the Wowol and Chumut "because he sang all night." Children liked to
[262] pull them out of ponds but were always told to put them back. They were never eaten.

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[25] Gayton and Newman, 56, abstract 9, note 4.

136 Two unrecognizable creatures were described by J.A. One was called "acorn"
●825 (e´s:n) "because it is red like an acorn. It comes out of the ground just after sunrise and flies off." The other (čitbo´bi) might possibly be horned toad; it lives in the ground, has horns, a tail, is flat, is gray with black spots, it has four legs but walks rather than hops.

Nature

821 Thunder (kunumu´mwiya) is personified in charmstones called u´nok (see Rain-Making, p. 37)

Unok can be dreamed; when it likes you, you can find pretty ones. Unok is thunder: there are four brothers, two are triangular tule (pu´muk) and two round tule (po´ton). Poton is soft, rolling thunder and Pumuk is loud and explosive.

Once after sundown on the day of a big storm Teresa saw a man on the horizon, he was wearing ceremonial feather garments and was dancing the kam [the ordinary doctor's dancing step].

J.A. amplified her statement later (1929). She said thunder is made by two brothers who shake tules. Pumuk, the triangular tule, is the worst, he is mean and smashes things. The little flat tule, Poton, is the little thunder which says, "ta,ta,ta,ta, boom." Lightning is thought to be part of thunder, is called ka´l:l; a mild thunder [lightning?] is called kal:la´mi.

[755 823] If a person were feverish, a layman with supernatural power might rub him all over with a charmstone (unok). These charmstones are "part of the world, they came that way, they were not made by anyone." Doctors did not use them.

821 262 The rainbow (sai´yap, Chunut; yo´nina, Wukchumni [J.A.]) is made of flowers. It has four stripes: the purple-red stripe is of ka´sy:n flowers whose seeds are greatly prized; blue is of tsa´lu, grass nuts; the yellow is oto´hon, a yellow prairie flower; and the orange of wata´gu, a wild flower "that looks something like a marigold." These flowers or their seeds are all edible except watagu. A rainbow forecast a plentiful food supply, "it will bring a good world [year] and plenty to eat"; but it had no supernatural significance.[56]

[56] A Palliganonap whom Powers interviewed at the Tule River Reservation stated that "the rainbow is the sister of Pokoh [the creator] and her breast is covered with flowers," but he also said that some thought a rainbow marked the first menses of some maiden (p. 395).

754 In such cases of deliberate harm, if a person sent for a doctor other than the one who
756 had sent the sickness, the doctor who attempted the cure would be sickened by the evil shaman. Only a very "big" doctor could bring about a cure under such circumstances, and at great risk to himself: it was one man's power against another's.

754 Coyotes were thought to be "servants" of evil shamans and ṭ:pni people. If a doctor were
825 going to injure a family or make a visit with harmful intentions, he would send a coyote ahead of him the preceding night. The coyote would go through the village barking and thrust his head in the door of the doomed house. When people heard a coyote doing this they would get up with their bows and arrows and try to shoot it. But they never succeeded, as such an animal was supernatural. When the coyote returned to his master, the shaman would dance and sing his songs. The next day the doctor would appear at the house The use of a coyote by a man who used his supernatural power to persecute others was related amongst other anecdotes of evil shamans by J.A.[85]

Shaman's Cache

756 As in the foothills, doctors were believed to have private caches where the wealth they ac-
556 cumulated was hidden: such a cache is called tai´wan (a big burden or storage basket). One
778 of these is located in a little ridge about eight hundred yards north of the Lemoore Rancheria. As usual, a fabulous account was given by J.A of the beads, baskets, feathers, skins, etc., stored there. In this region these things had to be buried as nature did not offer the convenient rock shelters of the foothills. Should anyone start to dig in this hill, swarms of gnats, flies, and fleas would attack the intruder and kill him. Or if he succeeded in reaching and touching the objects, he would suffer terrific pains and sickness.

A taiwan is always guarded by some sort of creature. This one is inhabited by a personified fire: a bright light emanates from the ridge at times. It glides about and frightens people when they walk to town at night; it follows them. It is a kind of person without legs who just floats along; it is called hs´u´te´:ts ka´l:l (walks light [or lightning]). This lightning sings:

hia´m (1) na tipi´newe oiyo´lomo·
now I ṭ:pni move

When the ground is plowed (by the white proprietor), the glowing light extends for about a quarter of a mile in all directions.

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[85]Ibid., 404.

776 An old man whom J.A. knew once had an
821 abalone shell talisman in his pocket. Thunder saw it and tried to get it. But the man saved it by grabbing his dog and whipping her and immediately the thunder stopped.

[30] Abalone shell ornaments (sa·wi·) were worn hanging on a cord at the breast or chest where they caught the sunlight. Their glitter was thought to startle rattlesnakes into giving a warning rattle. During early spring (about April) when the rattlers were emerging from hibernation there might yet be thunderstorms, hence the precautions mentioned above.

827 A coughing spell, when not occasioned by a cold, was attributed to melancholy by J.A., who said, "I get that way when I feel lonesome. Something in my throat jumps and I can't stop it."[96]

825 If one touched eagle down and then touched someone, that person would swell up immediately. Only a person with Eagle as a family totem or a dream helper could handle eagle down with impunity.

821 Windstorms were associated with the death of shamans. J.A. said she "nearly died" once from the activities of a ghost to whom she was distantly related. After a Wowol named Soi´yi´i (Manuel) who was "a big magic doctor" had died and was buried, a terrific wind arose while J.A. was sleeping "and almost turned her upside down."

An eclipse was regarded as the devouring of the moon (or sun) by some creature, probably Coyote, as believed elsewhere. Kroeber states that on these occasions an old Tachi woman would sing and dance and prayerfully beg that a little of the sun be left.[97]

At Summit Lake there was a fire in the bottom. "This is where fire started." (J.A. knows no story about it. She may be referring to a tule fire.) Burned over land (hite´na) is dangerous; if one steps on the ground, one will go down and never come up again. Just water comes up. (This probably refers to some locality of quicksands, possibly around Summit Lake.)

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

276 The Tachi, according to M.G., did not use jimsonweed (ma´nai) as "they were afraid of it." She saw it drunk at Čiau (Kingston) by Nutunutu but does not believe it was used by the Choinuk, Wolasi, Wechihit, or northerners

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[96] Compare Coyote's grief in a Yauelmani myth: "When Prairie Falcon died he felt bad. His heart came out of his mouth, he felt so bad. He would have died but he caught his heart as it was in the air and put it back into his mouth" (Kroeber, Indian Myths, 248).

[97] The Yokuts Language, 374.

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

276 For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
789 used in the valley as it was in the foothills, i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi čɨk, who
825 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[99]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le'ʾalawa, the handling, dai'was or tatla'wes.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[184] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115]

[99] The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Mutsanni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

756 The Snake Ritual M.G. knew of, saying that
535 the Wechihit had it but the Tachi, Choinuk,
Chunut, Telamni, and Wowol did not. She said
Pusl: 'l:n was an old man who could make that
[825] dance as Snake was his totem animal, but no one
else, without this totem, could dance with
snakes. However, Kroeber states that the Tachi
had a ceremony which "approximated" the Yaud-
anchi rite which he describes.[103]

The Bear Dance M.G. claimed for the Tachi and Wechihit but denied to the Wolasi, Telamni, Choinuk, Chunut, and Wowol, and northerners (Hoshima). The Tachi had three Bear dancers; one woman danced it also. The performance was given in the middle of summer or at any other time for entertainment. Everybody paid a little to see it. M.G. knew of no purpose in its performance, perhaps it was performed by Bear doctors.

A beaver or fish dance (ɔ 'šw:š), a shamanistic display of the foothill people, was unknown to M.G., although Kroeber attributes it to the Tachi.[104]

535 M.G. likewise disclaimed any dance which was done exclusively by women.

The pleasure dance (hata 'm:č or wa 'tiyɔd) was done by the Tachi, usually in the wintertime when it would be "danced all night" by an open fire. Five men of no special totem stood in a row with three women at each end. The men wore the usual upright feather headdress (ču) and had bunches of flicker feathers tied to their arms and wrists. There were three singers who sat at one side and used a clapper accompaniment (tawa 'taw:l). The dancers paid the singers; spectators paid the dancers.

The onlookers would say, "What dance is that?" A singer would reply, "Deer dance," 535 referring to the songs which were about birds and animals.[105] M.G. could only remember two 539 such songs, which are doubtfully translated.

hi 'awe na ko 'no
Where am I, Daylight?

mosa 'o wa na ko 'no
Little sweathouse in [?] long I,
Daylight

In the second, Pelican (ho 'hima) is singing.

he 'li ipai 'ya na
Pack in my head food I [refers
to pelican's method of putting
fish in his pouch]

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[103] Ibid., 506.

[104] Ibid., 507.

[105] Kroeber gives three Tachi songs, none of which seems pertinent to this discussion although one is, indeed, a dance song (Yokuts Language, 366); two Yaudanchi dance songs are about deer (ibid., 369).

769 shaman who was in the range of shot from both
756 sides. Each doctor had a large tray (tsa'pɨt) and in unison they held these -- in both hands, at opposite edges, and tray face outward -- over the fire, toward the west, the east, upward, then toward the north, the south, and face down over the fire. While the tray was over the fire the doctor drew the smoke over it with his hand. The tray was then laid on the ground and stamped on with one foot. The tray was picked up and "smearing" motions made over it with the hand and the "shot" appeared as the hand made these rubbing movements.

The doctors sang "hela'lmo ha! ha! ha!" (breathed heavily) as they did this, and a crowd of boys who had been standing on each side and who carried poles with handkerchiefs attached, joined in the "Ha! ha! ha!" and waved their poles.

The doctors, who were dressed in the usual ceremonial costume, had otter (naha''at), weasel (po'hɨt), or beaver (?) (waki''as) skins fastened at their wrists. (Seal [te'pɨk] could not be used for this purpose; if it were, everyone present would have pains and sickness.)
[825 753 These animals, which were talismans of a sort, caught opponents' shots in their mouths. The doctor could extract such shot, put it on his own tray, and return it to its sender. The shot was propelled by the usual method of banging the tray violently on the ground face downward.

When a doctor was struck he staggered about and fell down; his winatum placed a basket beside him and everyone put in a little money. At the same time the contestants shifted their position 90 degrees, i.e., to the next sides of an imaginary square.

The doctor in the center was never [sic] known to fall. It was he who must begin reviving the fallen, for only a doctor who sent a shot could extract it. At mourning ceremonies at Pisras it was always Sapagai who took the center position; up at Ciau (Kingston) J.A. saw Kosewa in the middle. The contesting doctors were all supposed to be benevolent, i.e., to be willing and able to revive their victims, because they were working for display purposes at the request of chiefs, who paid them for their services.[108]

769 The fifth day (nowadays, Saturday) people spent in preparation for the big cry (ma'tɨk pa'hat) that night. At the dance place winatums had a large fire built which was lighted at dusk. The members of the mourning families paraded around the fire twice during the night. Some of them carried "dolls" dressed in clothes and draped with beads [money] on long poles; others carried baskets, feather ornaments, or other valuable objects. When these were finally thrown on the fire, which was seemingly

[108] But see anecdotal material from this and other informants in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatwːl). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai ˊna·na·ni naˊna·niˑ," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto ˊtwi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi ˊˊthːˊtwi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [413] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Coˊopo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] [825] On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (tːpni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya ˊ aˑ ya ˊ eˑ hai ˊya kawai ˊyo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 946]

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants 825 in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lí·mik), "wolf" (iwé·yit, 622 the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehé·šit) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly [624 the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-202] between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

624 According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn·'nwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn·nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.--The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

[778] The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably
●825] is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed
[304] mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

624 that needed extra service, he would ask another chief if the winatums from his village would come to help.

On ordinary occasions of celebration a winatum took charge of the organization and gave orders. "He called for the Bear Dance [when the moment arrived for it to be given] or the pleasure dance (wa´tiyod). At a watiyod everyone kept still and listened to what he said."

The following data on Yaudanchi messengers were contributed by Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Among the Yaudanchi Yokuts, who are without moieties, the winatum is the messenger and attends to camping and feeding of visitors at fiestas. The mourning dove (uplali) was winatum in mythical times and the term uplali seems to be applied to the winatum today. At the time of my visit the informant Francisco Panchó spoke of the incumbent winatum, Dick Francisco, as uplali. The chief (diya) pays the uplali [winatum] after a fiesta is over. In mythical times when the dove was winatum, toxil (eagle) was diya. Limik [falcon] was hiauto or war leader as was also poiyun (Cooper's hawk). The hiauto takes orders from the diya. The hawk limik as well as the dove was winatum for the diya in ancient times.

[825]

Ceremonial manager.--This position (hide´t:ts)[231] was hereditary in the male line; Raven (ho´toi) was always its family symbol. There was never more than one in a village, as he was not often needed. The chief called on him to be a general manager for a very large gathering like the Annual Mourning Ceremony, and paid him in return. The man's duty was to keep things running smoothly: he called to people to get up in the morning; he went out to meet guests as they arrived, showed them where they were to camp, and notified the chief of their presence; he stopped children who were playing too noisily or women who were quarreling. But at mealtime it was the winatum who announced that food was ready to be eaten.

J.B. gave a somewhat different statement. The manager at ceremonies he called hide´tič and gave Snake (general) as his lineage animal. It was an inherited office; women never held it. "There were two or three of these at every fandango." They consulted with the chief concerning where visitors' camps should be placed, where to have meals, and when to have all the dances; they prevented fighting (and in recent times drinking), and sometimes "called out for dancing, though this was usually a winatum's job." Two particularly efficient managers were Ta´sow:k (a Wukchumni-Patwisha) and Ka´osuna (a Telamni).

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[231] Kroeber gives hiletits (Yauelmani) as a clown or ceremonial mocker; he does not record an office of dance manager (Handbook, 497).

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as families arrive they are received by winatums and
619 asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and recipients opposite each other, and the visitors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and
616 Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
769 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Ceremony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents
616 being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom
619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
756 totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
616 follows:

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či'čen (Rattlesnake); Ta'sowːk (Rattlesnake); Po'hač (Rattlesnake); Umičh'na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu'šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlːlːn (Rattlesnake); Kaplːlːn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li'sːš (Owl); U'nun (Owl); Sa'pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye'mai and his brother, Po'sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati'sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

616 When J.B.'s attention was called to the fact that his groupings, as given above, were
825 aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants
[756] in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

616 825 was a Tokelyuwich chief, Cougar a Nutuwich."

As a result of my questioning M.L. made a weak attempt to classify totem animals by moiety with absurd results: Clark Jay (čaku´du) as Tokelyuwich; Rattlesnake "and Bear maybe" as Nutuwich.

616 It is clear that the moiety was not a basic factor in Wukchumni social organization. On the contrary, the moiety concept, as applied to tribes (i.e., visitors) at the Annual Mourning Ceremony, makes it appear to be an adaptation of a barely understood scheme to a particular situation. Its manifestation in the Shamans' Contest, in which participants were drawn from both Valley [moiety] and Foothill [non-moiety] cultures leads one to suspect that the concept and adaptation peculiar to the Wukchumni is the result of the socially superficial co-mingling that occurred between hill and valley tribes during the mourning ceremonies.

616 825 In attempting to clarify the facts of moiety classification in Wukchumni culture, M.L. gave the following names of animals which she grouped as ṭa'a´ṭi (relatives), i.e., of one lineage or family. The groups appear here in the order in which she gave them, and at first it seemed (as with group 1) that these might be a moiety classification; later it turned out that they are all zoölogical classifications, so to say. I think the first group is a mythological grouping referring to animal cliques of the prehuman era, hence the song reference.

616 825 192

1. ṭe´wiša: flicker
   ṭu´'ud: rattlesnake
   ñahõ´'õ: grizzly bear
   ṭa´'ːšwide´'ːt: black-and-white woodpecker
   du´hun: cinnamon bear
   aho´'ot: weasel
   sañsañwide´'ːt: tree squirrel
   po´'hot: ground squirrel

M.L.'s comment: When a Bear Dancer danced he called [sang] to all of these. Flicker and black-and-white woodpecker were her mother's and maternal grandmother's extra "poša" because they danced with the Bear Dancer. "When ñahõ'õ got beaten he got mad and told his winatum to get Cougar and Fox and Wildcat [to fight them] but Cougar said he didn't want to fight because they were all ṭa'a´ṭi."

2. kai´'iyu: coyote
   a´djà: fox
   tu´mad: wildcat
   wahu´sːt: cougar
   iwe´yːt: wolf [mountain coyote]

M.L.'s comment: All Coyote's people look alike, cinnamon bear (duhun) was the only one that didn't.

3. upiye´'ì: dove
   so'o´no: pigeon
   hːmːd: quail

No comment.

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616
825
192

4. ṭu´hɨt: eagle
u´wɨk: golden eagle
ṭa´nka: buzzard
No comment.

5. pi´tu: mouse
tumatu´mud: woodrat
sansanwide´ɨt: tree squirrel
aha´ʼot: weasel
po´ʼhot: ground squirrel
he´ɲhut: gopher

The informant became much confused as the burden of grouping and identifying was a task beyond her meager English vocabulary, and one wherein I dared not assist by evocative questioning.

In connection with hunting J.P. said, "there were five animals just like deer":

6. šo´koi: elk
soi´yod: "a goat with straight horns," belonged in the valley
duwe´sɨp: mountain sheep; belonged in the mountains
wo´kono: antelope, especially in Antelope Valley
hoi: deer

Totemic Animals

825 The person and his totemic animal.---The relation between individuals and their poša (inherited totem animal) involved three major practices. The first, to which all poša´m (the persons possessing the totem) adhered, was the tabu on killing, even more on eating, the animal. The second was keeping the animal as a pet. And the third was the redemption of the animal by ceremonial payment to its killer or captor. All three practices interlocked in actuality. Thus, a person eating eagle flesh would be paid a small sum by the chief: this honored the eagle, and may be viewed as an extension of the more elaborate redemption of the entire bird. While a non-totemic pet was sometimes kept (i.e., an animal which was not the poša of its owner), [231] pets more frequently were totemic, and often were acquired as such "because they [the owners] didn't like to see somebody eating them" and would buy them from the would-be consumer.[234] After the redemption of a live eagle it would be kept for some time before being freed.

231 Pets.---Respecting pets, M.L. offered the following:

Eagles were kept as pets only by a chief or immediate male member of his family. Other persons might do so, knowing that the pet eventually would be bought by the chief. "He didn't like seeing other people having them.

[234] This is doubtless a rationalization. That is, the poša´m probably wanted a specimen of his poša as a pet and took this opportune way of acquiring one. Obviously he could not corner the market on doves, crows, etc.

231 Eagle is chief [spiritual] and he belonged to the chief [actual]." The chief would send out his winatum to buy any eagles he heard of. Since most eyries were known, and traditionally owned and inherited by chiefly lineages, it was not easy or usual for an ordinary person to come by one of these birds.

"Eagles were never kept as pets" is a curious statement of S.G. He likewise denied all knowledge of the redemption ceremony.

Doves might be kept as pets by anyone. But winatums "did not like to have them killed, and would buy them from other people and let them go." A male cousin of M.L.'s would not kill a dove, nor would he even allow his sister to keep them as pets.

Bear, as poša, included bears of all kinds, "red," "black," and grizzly. The paternal lineage of M.L. was a Bear lineage, so no one in her family, including her mother, would kill or touch the meat of this animal. M.L. ate [262] deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish, but she did not eat or taste bear meat or any food that might have come in contact with bear grease. Once she cooked some bear meat in ignorance. Her [first] husband ate some, and vomited directly they went outside the house [where they were visiting] and saw the skin.[235] This man's father raised cubs as pets, which may have some bearing on his son's tabu on bear meat.

Rattlesnake was the family totem of M.L.'s mother. A maternal uncle participated in the Snake Ritual. For this reason M.L. "did not like to see snakes killed either." Her sister's husband also was a snake-handler. However, no instance of snakes being kept as pets is known: snakes used ritually were returned to their dens.

Young crows and ravens[236] were favorite pets. M.L. once had one when she was a girl. It was a nuisance, continually stealing not only food but basketry materials from other people. A quarrel ensued, so her father's brother took the bird several miles up the Kaweah River and left it. The feathers of these pet birds were never plucked for use in ornaments, she said.

Quail was a dream helper of M.L. However, she gave another reason for not eating them, [773 825] which was believed by many young girls. It was thought that, if a girl ate quail, when her hair grew long quail might come to nest in it and break and tangle it.

Cougar (wahu·šɨt) and mountain coyote (?) (iweyɨt, "wolf"), were never eaten by any Wuk-

[235] It appears that the man had assumed this poša, either because of his marriage to M.L., or because it was a dream acquisition: his was a chiefly lineage. M.L.'s second husband, half-brother to the first, ate "no meat except a bit of salt pork now and then."

[236] These were not identified. M.L. gave the first as a·duwɨts, who said "'ah 'ah 'ah," and the second as ko·widai, who said "ko' ko' ko'."

[P. 100b] Wukchumni

231 chumni people. Fox (adja) and wildcat (tuned) "may have been somebody's poša," but M.L. could not connect them with any known family. She did not know whether the Waksachi had totemic animals or not, but claimed that Gawia, Telamni, and "everybody down this way" had them. The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod chiefs all had Eagle as their family animal; M.L. was uncertain if this held for the Tachi.

825 782 432 Redemption of totem animal.---When eagles, bears, or coyotes were killed it was necessary that a propitiatory ceremony be held to ensure the continued good will of the animals. There was an ill-defined but firm belief that all animals existed "somewhere," that any member of the species that was killed returned to this supernatural place and reported on the treatment which it had received when killed. Should an unfavorable report be made, ill would betide the killer, and the animals would no longer permit themselves to be victims of human hunters. This was the basis of all hunting formulae. The deer, however, was not totemic, and its propitiation was only the duty of the hunter. But eagles, bears, and coyotes were totems and it was the function of the lineages for which they were symbols to redeem them from their killers. These animals were feared not only for their physical prowess but for their supernatural powers.

825 782 J.P. described the ritual for bears and eagles.

539 432 If a man killed a bear, he would take it to a man who had Bear for poša. If the animal had been killed close by, the whole carcass would be carried to the Bear man's home. Usually it was far away, so the hunter just cut off the bear's feet and put them in a basket. Then he took this, some other baskets, and a blanket and went to the Bear man's home. The blanket was laid down before the door; the basket containing the feet was placed in the center and the other baskets ranged behind it.

The house chosen was that of the head of the Bear lineage who was usually the oldest Bear man and a Bear dancer. He sent a winatum to gather other members of the Bear lineage. When they saw what was there, "they went and got food, money, and baskets and traded with the hunter for the bear's feet and other things with it." The head Bear man go the feet and used the claws for a necklace. When the skin was brought he would buy that too. The skin included the head but not the skull. The skin would be tanned for use either as a blanket or for the Bear Dance costume. "It had the hair and ears left on and sure looked pretty!" While he was buying these things the Bear man "talked to the bear: he told it to be good, not to run after anyone, nor to kill people." Sometimes the other people cried while he was doing this.

825 782 432 It was incumbent upon the Bear people to redeem their poša. "The buyer would get broke while the hunter made lots of money." Then the hunter's people would have a big feast, for

825 they got the meat as well as the money since
782 the poŏam could not eat it. No special dis-
posal was made of the carcass, according to
432 this informant, a statement which I have always thought dubious.[237]

825 "Eagle was worse. If a man killed an
782 eagle he must take it to the tia'a or he'd die
539 right away, because Eagle would get mad." Then
432 all the chief's relatives would gather to pay for their totem; a winatum called them to come. All the tia'a's people cried when they saw that dead bird. Since there were sometimes two or three chiefly men in a village they would divide the buying, thus, one would buy the wing feathers, another the leg bones, and another the down. Then the killer of the eagle ate the meat. "The chief would not let those people gathered there go away until all the meat was eaten." When the killer had finished, the chief took the eagle's carcass and buried it in water so that it would be revived and return to its supernatural h[illegible] he did this he said, "tuñdi´ta po´dta [illegible] ´nita" (? ? you go up). This was the [illegible] phrase used by a hunter when he had killed game.

825 The same thing was done with a coyote car-
782 cass. It was taken to a Coyote elder who
432 called his people to pay for it. The coyote lay on a blanket, the people threw down their strings of money over it, and cried. If the hide were wanted for a Coyote clown costume, it would be skinned, but if not, the Coyote man "buried the whole thing right then because nobody ate that meat."

825 Totemic animals and associated profes-
sions.---J.P. and M.P. named a list of totemic animals and their associated professions.

Rattlesnake: for rattlesnake shaman who made the Rattlesnake Ritual
Bear (both black and brown): for Bear Dancers
Cougar: for chiefs who might have this in addition to Eagle
Eagle: for all chiefs
Dove: for all winatums
Coyote: "always clowns"
Trout: only one person [Henry Lawrence] known to have this as a family emblem
Raven: ceremonial manager
Crow [blackbird (?), aduw:ts]: J.P.'s maternal grandmother had this; no profession

Neither informant ever heard of anyone having deer as poŏa (though he could be a dream-helper). Everyone ate deer, all kinds of
[262] squirrels and rodents, woodpeckers and other birds. No person killed or ate any portion of his totem animal.

These are all the totemic animals these informants could recall for Wukchumni people. They believed that the Gawia, Yokod, and other tribes had the same family totems: "they were

[237] See, for instance, Heizer and Hewes, 592 ff.

825 just the same in any kind of tribe, just a different tribe, that's all." They knew nothing of totems being related or grouped as [615 moieties or phratries. J.P. said he had heard 616] of it, but neither the Wukchumni nor their neighbors did that.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

Pregnancy, Birth, Infancy

843 A pregnant woman continued her work as usual until the quickening; even then she did not cease ambulatory work entirely but would do easy tasks such as gathering clover. It is said that not infrequently women away from home on such tasks would deliver unaided. M.L. remembered such an instance at Gutsnumi, when a woman returned to the village with twins: she had cut the navel cords with her long fingernail. Tabus on food were the usual ones on meat and salt and were observed from the first moon after menstruation failed. Even yellowjackets' larvae could not be eaten since yellowjackets are voracious meat-eaters. Neither could anything hard be eaten, such as dried cakes of meal, since this made the birth difficult. The result was that diet during pregnancy consisted almost exclusively of gruels and greens. A pregnant woman must not scratch her body lest it become ugly and wrinkled, nor her head as her hair would split and fall out.

The woman's husband observed the tabu on meat, did not fell trees by firing, did not hunt deer, did not gamble, and, in recent years, did not chop wood. The man's tabus were observed during pregnancy and until the newborn [846] infant's navel stump dropped off. There was no ceremonial observance of his renewal of a normal existence. The mother's tabus continued for about three months after delivery, when the resumption of meat, etc., was ritually observed.

805 "Women went by the moon and men by the
843 sun," said M.L., referring to menstruation and morning erection. By observing the phases of the moon a woman could judge fairly well when to expect her next period. When a period failed, she believed herself pregnant if it did not eventuate by the next occurrence of the moon-phase, and she began observation of the
843 food tabus. If the child was the woman's first,
854 her mother or grandmother made the first cradle for her. The child's second cradle, made also by mother or grandmother, was not started until the infant was delivered; to start it sooner would "make the baby come too soon." But this [177] is no longer the practice since the Mono-type cradles of fine willow, requiring more time for manufacture, have come in vogue; the former Y-frame cradle could be made in a few days. Also provided by the girl's mother were the necessary soft skins, shredded bark, and several sleeping mats for the infant. These things the woman kept in her storehouse.

[P. 110 9] Wukchumni.

787
778 was infusing it: the word wai'ač referred to the talisman merely as a material object. Although the material which constituted the talisman -- feathers, claws, or whatever -- might be bought, talismans themselves were never sold, once they became talismans. An
754 owner of one would fear its discovery by a
778 malicious shaman (they could be "heard" by powerful people and taken). Thus an ordinary person with private power, or a young shaman, might be forced to give up his talisman through fear of being sickened, should a shaman demand the object. A talisman so acquired could be used by its new possessor (see Anecdote 10, below).

787 Sometimes supernatural help came unsought
778 in the following ways. Although J.P.'s ex-
756 amples are of Deer helpers, he said "any animal might act like that." Thus, if a man were chasing a deer and the animal became exhausted, it might turn back and offer the hunter supernatural help to become a doctor. The man was under no compulsion to accept. Another way this might happen was for Deer to offer power to an abnormally successful hunter who had been killing many of these animals, until "they got tired of it." Then the head Deer (mɛts hoi) who lived in the deer cave[251] would go to the man in a dream and offer to make him a doctor, promising him great success and an assurance of wealth if he would cease hunting. The man might decline to become a shaman "but he would tell Deer that he would only kill one deer at a time after that and only when he needed it."

Dream Helpers

787 The special gifts bestowed by animals as
776 dream helpers are formulated in the following comments by informants. These powers are those
825 randomly acquired by dreaming, not through a lineage association.

Eagle.---Dreaming of Eagle only made people rich.[252] In no other way did Eagle help with dreams (S.G.). One did not ask him for general help in acquiring supernatural power, which might be expected from his chiefly position in the realm of birds and animals.

Falcon.---A person who had Falcon to help him could make a crowd quiet, just like a hawk makes chickens quiet. But Falcon was also dangerous as a helper: he sometimes made people wild, they would break out of any jail they were put in (S.G.).

Cougar.---A person who dreamed of Cougar, or especially of struggling with one, would get so much strength that he would not dare to hit anybody [lest he kill him]. Cougar would do one thing or the other: he made a man either

[251] See section on hunting and treatment of deer; also Wobonuch account, Pt. II.

[252] That is, it could not make one a chief.

[P. 110 b] Wukchumni.

787 776 825 a good hunter or a bad man. A man who wanted to show he had power through Cougar would wear the claws tied on his arms with cougar sinew (S.G.).

Antelope.---"The little yellow deer (ija haj·t) was a shaman. His body was just like a net: bullets went right through it. He helped a man to be a doctor, but one who went by this deer did not live long because there were too many rules for a person to follow" (S.G.).[253]

Deer.---If a man were chasing a deer and the animal got tired, it might come back to the hunter and tell him it would make him a powerful doctor (J.P.).

Owl.---The horned owl (hutu´du) was the dream helper of the huhuna dancer. "He could see anything" (M.L.).

Miscellaneous.---Cougar, Wildcat, and Buffalo [sic] (Elk) are three helpers for good hunters (S.G.).

Coyote, Weasel, and Skunk are doctors' helpers (J.B.).

Curing

756 778 All shamans had a collection of talismans, which were usually kept in a sack of skin such as a weasel, otter, skunk, or small wildcat skin. The shouldered basket (osa) was so used sometimes. This collection was not kept around the house but was hidden outdoors in some rocky crevice. Anyone who touched it would get sore fingers or sore eyes. Because of their power these outfits were burned or buried at the owner's death. Only a relative who had at least as much power as the deceased shaman would dare to keep and use the talismans; if he tried to and were insufficiently powerful, he would die. However, shamans were buried like plain people; there was no special disposal. An essential to all curing equipment was eagle down, both loose and rolled into cord; all persons with t·pni power, whether professional or not, wanted and used this material.

[764] [237]

757 Shamans seem to have been called to cure headache, chest pains, chest congestion, heart trouble (vertigo), rheumatism, and chills and fever. Nausea was said to be uncommon, and persons suffering from this usually cured themselves by drinking herbal infusions. These ailments (save nausea) were all thought to be caused by the intrusions of some malignant object which might have been sent by a malicious shaman, by a ghost, or by an offended supernatural animal or bird. The first cause was regarded as the most probable, the last was least likely.

[753]

Chills and fever were usually accompanied by headache. To cure this a doctor put water on top of the patient's head and sucked without

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[253] That is, the person made a mistake and offended his helper who caused his death. This is a strange word for antelope, but what other can be meant?

poison is real or imaginary I could not discover.[255]

Airshot.--Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu´yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make (i.e., propel) different kinds" (S.G.).

All shamans used a basketry tray (tai´iwan, Wukchumni, bo´gtu, Patwisha), similar to the woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

The invisible airshot was derived from the sun. It was made from nothing (i'a´mči, lit., nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun, grabbed toward it with the hands, and then rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

According to J.P., this same airshot could be transformed into living creatures. Thus a shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it would change into an owl that went and talked to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

Transformation.--The Wukchumni believed that persons with supernatural power, not necessarily shamans, could transform themselves under conditions of great stress into the form of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

Bear transformation was believed possible for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ•pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

Flying power.--The power of flying through space, while mentioned, was only incidental. Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255]Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256]Whatever simile informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

683 ened all the Indians. This was because Kipat had so much ṭ:ɹni."

The Shaman's Cache

756 778 It was believed that most shamans had private caches (pa´čki) where they kept not only their sacred outfits of talismans, but their wealth, and even the stuffed skins of dead women adorned with beads and other valuable ornaments. The cache would be in a cliff or rock pile; cracks indicated the door, which [531] opened at the owner's command. The rocks were usually painted; in fact, any rock with pictographs was thought to be a cache. A rock pile in Drum Valley was shown me as a shaman's cache; there was another at Hoganu.[258]

756 778 823 [531] Both S.G. and M.P. described a big cache near Gutsnumi which they said was in a big hill known as Bell Bluff, called Čoiš:šiu (lit., dog place). This was on Kaweah River directly opposite the old village site, now known as Terminus Beach, and was marked with pictographs. (These I was unable to find; M.P.'s children, who started as guides, became frightened and ran home.) S.G. said that there were several inner chambers "each as big as a house" and that they were filled with native treasures (baskets, beads, feather ornaments, etc.) and female effigies of stuffed skins. When one walked over the hill one could hear it was hollow, "your footsteps sound different." S.G. expressed apprehension lest the hill might some day be dynamited, for if so, "all kinds of bad diseases would fly out over the country."

825 778 539 M.P. had a frightening experience there (hence her children's nervousness). The rocks of the bluff are painted with pictographs, she said, but she would not accompany me there.

756 Long ago her uncle warned her not to look at them as she would get sore eyes. Moreover there was a beautiful weird dog there which came out of the rocks to attack investigators. However, she and her cousin went down there one evening just at dusk. A ghost came out after them. They jumped to one side of the trail and "it went right by and on down the hill looking like fire." M.P. believed that the cross she was wearing at the time saved her. When the girls reached home the uncle chided them for going down there. He said that in that hill were [the skins of] beautiful boys and girls stuffed with tule, and each one had a basket of money. The shamans had eaten their flesh and liver. The dog which guarded the cache had a snake's body and human hands for feet. A white man once saw it, shot at it, and died the next morning.

The belief in these guardian dogs explains the common term for shamans' caches, wherever

[258] Shown in Steward, Petroglyphs of California, 110-139, figs. 51, 52.

539 778 825 1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29 [P. 113b] Wukchumni

756 located, Čoiš·šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 776 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono·sa, dreamed of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain·c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo·anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[359] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake; [752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 789 776 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo·anši was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[360] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 789 237 5. The power of flying, known to northern neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.G.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 787 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[359] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[360] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

756 acorn mush. He went swimming in the middle of
787 the ensuing night and then came home and slept until dawn "when opod [sun] called him." He swam again and ate a tiny piece of meat for breakfast. Haičača continued this routine until both his grandparents died.

After that he went to live "over Telamni way." While there, he dreamed of Crow (ho'toi),
[978] who promised him aid "if he would only believe in what he was dreaming." He secured a crow's wing which, as a talisman (ainič), he kept close to his person. About a month later a shaman who came down from Dunlap engaged Haičača in a gambling game. This doctor could hear the crow talisman (hotoi ainič) singing under Haičača's clothes: "It kept singing
[754] 'kah! kah! kah!'" The shaman demanded the talisman. Haičača denied that he possessed one, "but it was no use." The doctor threatened to make him sick and kill him if he did not give it up. So Haičača gave up the crow wing and he cried for an entire week over the loss.

756 At about this time Haičača's mother's
787 cousin, whom he went to visit at Naranjo, gave him some jerky. He took the meat home and ate it. Soon his heart began to palpitate. He
754 started to go to Dohem [?], where he was working, and after crossing the river he coughed up blood. It was at Dohem that he had had his first dream of Frog, and when he reached there he vomited. He remembered his dream and called on Frog to help him. Down at the spring where he went to drink, a big frog came to him. The man had lain down by the water and the frog jumped on his stomach. At once he vomited an object that "looked like blood all wrapped up in coyote hair." Then a whole chorus of little frogs came up around his feet and sang. Haičača felt better at once and, rising, went right back to Naranjo. His "uncle" ran off at his approach and did not return until Haičača left.

Subsequently Haičača went down to Tulare to shear sheep. One night, while his vest was hanging on his bed, someone put poison on the shoulder of it. When he put on the garment, his shoulder felt like fire. He kept the vest, however, and a little later a woman "burned it up for him." Instead of being cured, the shoulder became worse; his shoulder, chest, and finally arm, hand, and foot swelled up badly. "He nearly died." How he was cured of this ailment M.P. did not know, "unless by a Catholic priest's prayer."

Haičača became a good doctor; "he never
756 hurt anybody." He would have taught M.P. to be a doctor "if she had been a boy. There were lots of women doctors south of Kern River."
[237] Haičača once cured M.P.'s husband, J.P., of a lame back. For this he used the eagle-head talisman for rubbing. "Then he cut and sucked out blood in the shape of two little frogs."

11. The only case known to my informants
596 of a water creature serving as a family totem
613 (poša) was that of H.L.'s family. M.P. told
825 of it. H.L. himself is "master of Otter" (naha'at). Neither H.L. nor his sister will eat fish "because their father was sick for a long time from fish."[26a]

[26a] On the contrary, Fish, as his poša, cured him in both illnesses recounted. The statement is merely a case of inversion due to H.L.'s inadequate English.

[P.1159] Wukchumni

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ɨ lkɨn. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epɨs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman. J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. [756] "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 ●825 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

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789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

789 But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
301 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
821 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu'ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitu-
[823] men?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi'soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča'ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu'da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

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796 band, etc. The singer accompanist, who was
[534] also a person with Bear totem, sat at one side
and used a cocoon rattle. The dancers stood in
[554] a row, with the most powerful or important man
at the right end, the woman at the left (from
the audience's point of view). The men held
[198] their hands cupped to their mouths to augment
their heavily aspirated grunts. The woman held
[516] her hands beside her shoulders, wide open,
palms forward, and her elbows close to her
sides. While the accompanist sang and rattled,
796 the dancers turned toward their left, and the
535 men, with feet together, took three slow, stiff
jumps forward. At each jump they exhaled a
harsh, hard "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The woman remained
in her place and, with feet together and heels
off the ground, moved herself rhythmically with
a gentle bouncing-springing motion on the balls
of her feet. The upper part of her body and
her shoulders she turned to right and left on
alternate "bounces." She kept this up con-
tinuously while the men jumped and walked back-
ward to their former positions three times. The
whole performance lasted no more than ten
minutes at the utmost, yet it could not be re-
peated under any circumstances until the follow-
ing year. For this reason it was particularly
admired, and urgent demands for repetition from
the onlookers, with consequent refusals from
the dancers, seem to have been a traditional
part of the affair. If the spectacle were to
be witnessed again that season, it would have
to be in some other village or tribe with other
dancers.

[773] When J.P. was young he saw a Bear dancer
whose arms and legs were entirely black. Spec-
tators said to him, "If you are a bear, let's
see your hair!" At once the black portions
turned into hair all over the man's limbs.

796 The dance was supposed to be a replica of
● 825 real bears' antics; they were said often "to
dance with trees."

A man was out hunting once about sundown and saw a little bear dancing beside a small oak tree. He was standing on his hind legs and holding up his paws; he jumped at the tree three times. Then he clawed up some earth and threw it at the little tree. The tree was his singer and the little bear was mad because the singer made a mistake. The human dancers act just the same way [not toward their singer, however] and will not look back over their shoulders until they are through.

J.B. gave a similar anecdote.

His wife, her sister, and her cousin were out gathering seeds. They saw a bear dance. He was near a little white oak which they believed was his singer. He jumped and grunted three times, then he grabbed at the tree and playfully mauled it. Three times he did this and then went off. The women were much pleased at the spectacle.

[in the Bear Dance. -Anthyst]

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koko ´čo, koko ´čo, koko ´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa ´psu, tapa ´psu, tapa ´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha ´ho· ’ho· ’, ha ´ho· ’ho· ’, ha ´ho· ’ho· ’

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja ´’amu añtu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

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[756]
[184]

M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta ´k:t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825]

I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rain-making, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[271] His description of the rite is as follows:

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...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[271] Ibid., 507.

displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

Another display dance was mentioned by M.L. in which she danced with her shaman uncle Taisus. They sang song No. 5 (p.118), and then the shaman "made a mudhen come and fall in the fire."

Rattlesnake Ritual

From no informant was I able to obtain a description of the Rattlesnake Ritual which in any way approximates that given by Kroeber for the Yaudanchi.[272] It was one of the native rites most frowned upon by missionaries and white settlers and has not been performed, even aberrantly, for many years. The reader is referred to Kroeber for a full account. My own summary and, in a few instances, supplementary data are given below. The only major differences in these are the absence of any "shaman-killer" (given as kuyohoch, obviously confused with hi'auta), and the presence of the Coyote clown, not mentioned in this connection by Kroeber.

This ritual, called šo´no, was made in the spring of each year, about April, always just prior to the snakes' emergence from their winter hibernation.

One of the participants at Diapnuša was J.P.'s maternal uncle, so J.P. went with him when he got his snake; both had snake poša. They went up to a rocky ledge on Diapnuša hill; J.P. sat down and watched. The uncle had with him a flat tray (koiyoṭo), a bird-bone whistle (wa´hid or šo´ho), hawk down, a small stick, a long pole, and a willow cage (čo´miš). The tray, its surface covered with hawk down, was laid on the ground in front of the snake den. A rattlesnake came out and circled once around the tray. Uncle did not like it and told it to go back. Another came out. This was repeated six times. Each snake had taken one little piece of down. When the sixth and satisfactory snake came, it would not take a feather. Then Uncle told it to take one and it did. Then he circled his little stick over the snake's head. When it coiled, the tray was inverted over it, covering it with down. Uncle then picked up the snake in his hand, putting it in the wicker cage. He talked to it continually, telling it where it was going, that it was to participate in the Snake Ritual, and that it must not bite anyone. The cage was put on the end of the pole, and J.P. was allowed to carry it home. There it was hung in a tree until wanted.

The ritual was held in the afternoon in the village dance space. A vertical-sided pit

[272] Ibid., 504-506.

796 Then people began shouting for the "biting"
825 display. "They would put up $50 to $60 for this." The doctor who was daring enough threw his snake to the ground to anger it. It would turn toward him and bite him. The arm was extended, so that the snake struck high in a spectacular manner; the reptile was displayed dangling by its fangs from the doctor's arm.[273] Then the other doctors sucked the wound and spat on a tray, and the victim recovered at once. This ended the ritual, usually about 5 p.m.

The feast provided by the doctors was then eaten. They, of course, received the payment in the pit. The next morning they returned the rattlesnakes to their respective dens.

J.P. said "the worst he ever saw" was a doctor whose snake struck him three times. He was given the sucking treatment and lived, but he remained unconscious until the following morning.

J.P. said the "sun snake" was more dangerous than the rattler. If a doctor wanted a sun snake, he "held his tray up to the sun to get power" (this at the time he was seeking the reptiles for the ritual).[274]

224 The informant Tm.W. had seen Pušlːlːn get snakes for a dance at Maštːnao (a Chukaimina village). He went out with a bone whistle. When the snakes heard it they "rose right up in the rocks and were told to 'Come on!'" As a snake turned away, the doctor grabbed at the back of its neck. He put it in a willow cage called čo´mːs. Tm.W. had also seen Solopono do the Rattlesnake Ritual at Porterville, but this informant was not equal to describing it. A rattlesnake was called pu´čuš tu'ud (little rattlesnake) or mːts tu'ud (big rattlesnake).

796 The Rattlesnake Ritual was held by the Yaudanchi at Moko early each spring. Several doctors participated. Those M.S. recalls were her stepfather Kipat (Patwisha), Čokonːk (Choinimni), Umičana (Wukchumni), Čiwːn (Wukchumni), and Šu·t (Gawia). Each man had a snake which he had obtained at its den. This informant's description of the rite differed from others in the following respects.

During the dance the coiled snake was held out on the palm of the hand, or was wound around the neck "like a muffler." There was no "biting" display. Each doctor had a hole for his own snake; the people who filed by paid each snake by dropping in a bit of money, stamped at the side of the hole, and passed on.
[285] While in captivity, the snakes were kept in bottlenecked baskets (osa) instead of cages. A pole (wi´čːt, any stick or pole) was set up beside the dance space and gifts of baskets for the doctors were hung upon it. The doctors

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[273] I do not know whether this "dangling" is physiologically possible for the rattlesnake, but Kroeber reports the same action (ibid., 505).

[274] M.A., the Paleuyami, said her father "made snakes come down from the sun."

524 were called: ča ´pai (tray); ho ´wič (dice made of nut shells); ča ´kat (pine-pitch filling of dice); čune ´ti (abalone shell fragments set in pitch). She gave the count as: three face down, 1; two up, 2; all up or all down, 4. Twelve counters (wič: ´l) were held by a score-keeper; all must be obtained to win. This was the method of play at Maštinao [A.M. was Wuk-chumni by birth].

Hand game.--A.M. said she had seen the hand game (hena ´oša) played by the Entimbich at Dunlap when she was a little girl. She knew nothing about it save that "Coyote and Eagle used to play it all the time."

MOIETIES

616 The Chukaimina were divided into moieties named Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. Their activities were reciprocal at mourning ceremonies during the washing rite and in playing games. However, they were subordinate to the tribal division which constituted the major reciprocal unit.

616 Totem animals which were individually, not collectively, symbolic of patrilineal lineages, ● 825 were divided by moiety as follows, according to Mo:

Tokelyuwich:

to ´h:l: eagle
ŏ ´lŏ ´i: roadrunner
to ´nol: wildcat (tukob:č, Western Mono)
ṭuna ´o: badger
ti ´či: raccoon
su ´hup: chicken hawk (su ´pa, Western Mono)
wih: ´š:t: cougar (tuwa ´wiya, Western Mono)

Nutuwich:

l:m:k: falcon
hoṭ:: buzzard (wi ´ho, Western Mono)
kai ´yu: coyote (hu ´´ušu [sic], Western Mono)
nahŏ ´´ŏ: bear (bi ´ow:ši [sic], Western Mono)
he ´wi: dove (Western Mono)
ṭe ´´el: rattlesnake
hutu ´lu: owl

[582] All informants insisted that persons of the same totem animal (hence of the same moiety) could marry. No specific cases pro or con could be recalled, however. A man with Eagle totem was always chief; all his family were called ti ´ya.

Redemption of Totem Animals

231 Mo. said that her paternal grandmother,
626 who was of the Nutuwich moiety after marriage, raised an eagle. Her son, Mo.'s father, hunted

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 135b] Chukaimina

231 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer
825 liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Mastinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about Limik [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the
649 Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say [presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing] because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni'ta); crying ritual (aha'na); washing ritual, either at

624 An official speaker was called di´ʾe´le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chunut pine´ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di´ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

616 The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation [63] of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far 616 as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety. 825

Tokelyuwich, west

ṭo´hɨl: eagle
naho´ʾo: grizzly bear
iwe´yɨt: long tail cat[18]
hoṭs: buzzard
ka´nkas: crow
o´i´o´i´: roadrunner
hu´šu: coyote
hu´ñhoṭ: weasel
lɨ´mɨk: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di´kwi´lɨṭs: fisher [or martin]
ta´ṭčai: mudhen[19]
la´la: goose
oi´ʾɨk: blackbird
ma´o: tree [grey?] squirrel
hoi: deer
ki´sɨn: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɨṭs: condor
tono´hop: black bear
wehu´šɨt: cougar
ho´toi: raven
upye´ʾi: dove
to´ñol: wildcat
so´hup: "chicken" hawk
te´pɨš: beaver
šo´ʾšo´: kingfisher
wa´twat: duck
šɨ´čɨl: ground squirrel
soi´yal: antelope
o´čoč: magpie
ti´pɨn: acorns

[18]Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iwɨyɨt, colloquially known as wolf.

[19]P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

[20]Calendrinia.

MOIETIES

616 The informant was quite unable to formulate the concept of the moiety or to describe its functions, although he recognized its presence in his culture. He claimed that he himself, his father, and his father's brother and sister were Nutuwich, and that his mother and his sister's son were Tokelyuwich, which is correct if moiety regulated marriage, as it probably did. He volunteered the following classification of animals, but claimed that vegetable foods and fish were not dichotomized, 616 which does not agree with more reliable infor- 825 mation from the neighboring Kechayi.

Tokelyuwich, west

to ʻhːl: eagle
wohe ʻčut: cougar
a ʻluwets: crow [blackbird?]
ho ʻtoi: raven
huma ʻk: jackrabbit
na ʻčoč: rattlesnake
te ʻʻːl: rattlesnake, Gashowu
ko·lonki ʻ: king snake
oi ʻu ʻl: roadrunner
tono ʻl: a large, red, wildcat
te ʻpek: beaver
u ʻʻwek: osprey (?), a diving bird, white head, "catches fish all the time"
wa ʻhat: crane
ši ʻkol: ground squirrel

Nutuwich, east

hihi ʻʻina: horned owl
po ʻhiyon: Cooper's hawk
naho ʻʻo: bear
čai ʻčai: bluejay
hoi: deer
hope ʻl: gopher snake
koto ʻnːč: gopher snake, Gashowu
o ʻčoč: magpie
upla·li ʻ: dove
čawaču: wildcat, smaller than tonol
naha ʻʻːt: otter
ho ʻkok: kingfisher
če ʻha: dog
hots: condor

SHAMANISM

Curing

756 Persons who wanted supernatural power (tː ʻpni) acquired it by dreaming, swimming, and praying. When a significant dream (ana ʻts) came, the person rose, went outdoors and prayed to that which had visited him in the dream. At dawn he went to swim, regardless of how cold it was. When B.W. was a small boy, his father carried him down to swim at the same time he did. Beyond this, B.W.'s description of the acquisition of power was quite incoherent. A doctor was called te ʻʻis; B.W. claimed a ʻntu was the Gashowu word.

621 192 723 Star lore.---Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´pːš: sun
toiyu´ nem u´pːš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nːš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls). E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]
soiyo´lui yawačːt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.
wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."
we´čːn čano´´onːt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.---The year was divided into moon months (yɛt u´pːš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčːn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lːpi, six).

823 Earthquake.---E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

● 805 301 Snake-charm.---In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 387 822 192 Paint.---The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

622 Čo ˊkːt, Nutuwich, and his wife, Čːnkːˊlwːt, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

624 Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yateˊːč (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yateˊːč was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's "party," the yateˊːč "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

[782]

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Koˊčon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'ukiˊyi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

616 The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals and plant names. Most of the items below were given voluntarily in response to a general question.

616
●825

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
toˊxːl: eagle	poˊhiyon: Cooper's hawk
puˊnal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	yaˊyːl: falcon[58]
uplaˊli: dove	hoˊits: buzzard
aˊluwut: crow	hiˊhiˑˑnaː: horned owl
hoˊtoi: raven[59]	●soˑˊtot: white owl
uˊiˊui: roadrunner	ˊoˊčˊoč: magpie
waˊtwat: duck	huˊmnul: quail
bučoˊnhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai ˊṭaiˊ: blue jay

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than aˊluwut.

[P, 164 b] Kechayi

616 ulu·´ju:
meadow lark
825 ča´pit:´tna:
kingbird
wihe´š:t:
cougar
ki·´či:
raccoon
te´p:š:
beaver
xu´mix:
jackrabbit
te´u:
cottontail rabbit
ši´tx:l:
ground squirrel
homu´ča:
wood rat
te´´el:
rattlesnake
ta·la´tai:
lizard
ta´hai´ew:ts:
grasshopper
pu´tus:
"round" acorns
e´š:n:
a "mountain" acorn
te´p:n:
acorn mush
li´m:n:
acorn gruel
a´ptu:
manzanita berries or cider
taxa´ti:
sourberries
ča´n:t:
seeds from a blue flower
xe´l:s:
a seed

naho´´o:
bear
hoi:
deer
kawai´yu:
horse (Sp. caballo)
hu´´ušu:
coyote
a´oja:
fox
čo´i:
skunk (large)
če´ču:
California spotted skunk
ma´o:
grey squirrel
gai´h:t:
salmon
ma´m:l:
blackberries
kisi´´:n:
small black seed

616 The functioning of the moiety division is not one of mere reciprocity, as it is with more southerly or westerly Yokuts. Here, for the Kechayi at least, it seems there is no lineage totem which is recognized as a family symbol, even for that of a chief: all moiety animals are regarded as "totems."[60] The specific functionings are given under headings dealing with those situations in which they operate, such as "Annual Mourning Ceremony," "First Fruit Rites," "Marriage." A peculiar set of behavior patterns, which E.M. could not clearly
616 formulate nor I grasp, was associated with each moiety. Thus, to partake of one's moiety
262 animal or vegetable food would make one ill, hence the Nutuwich never ate deer or bear meat.[61] Yet, after the First Fruit Rites, salmon and blackberries, also classed as Nutuwich, were eaten by members of that moiety. On the other hand, a Tokelyuwich man, having been hunting, could not partake of the first deer he had killed but could eat the meat from some other
616 (see "First Fruit Rites"). E.M. said, "The

[60] Kechayi social organization needs thorough analysis with other informants.

[61] This was an absolute statement.

616 Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were [559] given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

616 Redemption of totem animals.---When an eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people put in some money to pay for it. The feathers 825 were removed. A shaman kept the head, which 237 he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

616
825 A Nutuwich man, Či´pːt, the paternal grand- [231] father of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´hːp (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čipːt received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the [301] bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

231 Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´yːl) was kept in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to an-

[171] [62] Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

756 the door and calling on the name of his father
556 or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed
422 to have belonged, and the door opened. Within were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins -- all valuable things. He could take anything he wanted from the left side of the enclosure.
756 The right side was filled with articles that
556 belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and these "had too much power." They served as
778 guardians of the place, for their power would
778 kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a stranger should succeed in entering the pački, he would be afraid to take anything as he would not know which ones he could safely touch [sic] (see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had acquired much power, his helpers might tell him to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doctor did that he would get mean and care no more for people or being a good doctor."

756 Procedure.---A man who wanted to become a shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on.
787 When a supernatural helper visited him in a dream, he rose and went out into the hills, where he "lay down to dream some more." The dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to him, gave him a song and instructions about curing, and told him what talismans to use. The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking prayerfully to his assistant. As the man dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals" came more readily, so he was often away for days at a time. It would be said of such a man, "pana´n:t a´m:n časa´šti (coming his helper; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

756 When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill
787 near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was there too, and the animals opened the pački,
● 825 telling him to enter. He stayed in there four days. No one at home knew where he was, and often people went out in search of him. While he was in the pački the animals told him what to do. They gave him more songs and danced with him all night. They gave him his regalia: "this just appeared on him, nobody knew where it came from." Later on, when he needed more things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he would go back to the pački to get them. At the end of four days the animals sent him out, but instead of going home he remained in the hills two more days [total, six]. The animals instructed him to do this as "he would die" if he went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announcing the beginning of his career. He did not again dream of his helpers but called on them when he needed their aid.

756 Shaman's debut.---When a man felt that his power was sufficient (and usually he had tested

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

[P. 170 b] Kechayi

778 825 157 273 On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku'mič (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

756 556 422 When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ič was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. [764] Then he went to his father's pački and brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

756 556 422 753 To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipit, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipit fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

787 Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

[P. 1929] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 825 Wainus.---This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force (ṭ:pni). The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

[754]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.---Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.---E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.---When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.---This dance (h:č: ´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata ´m:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta ´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha ´t:š, the shamans, and Ke ´mas and Ku ´ba ´ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

846 852 783 women relatives of the man's family did the same for the wife's attendants (mother and sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deer-[292] skin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter [825 237] skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

431 846 852 783 A further exchange of gifts took place. The young mother's family had assembled quantities of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries, etc., while the young father's family had provided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth, [178] e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121] It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[262] [122] The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

[P. 1949] Chuckchansi

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
846 for some reason they could not be nursed, said N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel (warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth, as it was thought to aid the production of milk. She did not resume a full normal diet until about two months had passed. She could, however, have quail soup, which was also a special infant's preparation.

853 Quail soup might be given an infant two or three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it," though usually it was not given until the child [856 had reached the age of at least two months. The ●825] purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the child will walk early. A bird was pounded up and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm broth given the baby.

853 Children nursed several years. Though nursing was supplemental to the basic diet after the age of three to five years, they
862 might continue to take the breast, evidently as a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years. Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who had been out hunting, would come home and go to the mother's breast, as would girls of equal age, said N.W. From two years on, children were permitted to have any type of food they cared for and could manage. From a month on a baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing amounts. To start the child on solid food the mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it to the young one. "They look at the mother, then open their mouths, just like little birds." After the meat the child would have acorn gruel, the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips. By the age of five the child could hold its own basket when drinking from it. Sometimes children were given ground rabbit meat, but it was thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk, they were trained to go outside to urinate [they were in the cradle a good part of the time up to two years of age, of course]. If they did not learn readily, a medicine was prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?]. This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure [informant could not elucidate]. A child would be about five or six when this was done; "accidents" occurred as late as the age of thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
789 walk, the mother or someone of the family would
868 hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed with it. If the little one looked back and showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks away. After that he keeps right on walking [sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her grandchildren?].

765 of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine
302 pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols.
[534] They evidenced grief by playing the musical
765 bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

768 Inheritance of such possessions as were
428 not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

761 Omens of death.--Several items which may
787 be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

825

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[127] Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128] Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129] Ibid., 542.

761 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a
787 woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and
825 recovered was able to stop excessive thunder
and lightning by merely going out and shouting
[804] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

775 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people
825 thought the dead turned into birds and animals. [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 198 b] Chuckchansi

624 here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.[130] Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

616 The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Gashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilocal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

616 825 The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

[552] The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

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[130] It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. --A.H.G.

[EP. 1999]

Chukchansi

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Informant	Mutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	coyote, "because he lives up in the mountains" eagle bear	bluejay, "he lives down in the valley"
S.B	eagle coyote	bluejay bear
J.R.	coyote deer	eagle bear bluejay

There was disagreement about personal affiliations with the moieties, too. In all information on this subject Miss Thrall felt that S.B.'s knowledge was more reliable than N.W.'s. The informants assigned people to moieties thus:

Informant	Mutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	Nancy Wyatt Mike Wyatt Nancy's father	Nancy Wyatt Susie Brown Chicago Dick
S.B.	Mike Wyatt	
J.R.	Jack Roan	

[P. 199 b] Chukchansi

616 524 Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

616 796 For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

616 552 The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

616 825 Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

756 people heard him sing, everybody would know he
787 was a doctor.

The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

787 A man became a fine deer hunter by dream-
224 ing of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a certain man to be a good deer hunter, they would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild
825 deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

787 M.W. said he had an aunt who received
825 power from Deer. Once when she was a young girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one, not a spiritual representative. He could not
825 kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.
787 She did not know whether white people dreamed in this way but opined that they might, especially if they "believed that way." "The Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
556 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to those held by other Yokuts groups. According to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a large rock. He would talk to the rock, which would open so he could get his things. Each doctor had his own place; his things would be in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he had created by means of his power. The opening thereto was not palpable to others: "You could go over that rock a thousand times and not find the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[784] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safeguard himself by rubbing his hands with wormweed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
682 made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
278 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hanging on a clothesline. When she put on the dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person with it. L.W. would have to do it or she herself would die [at the poisoner's hands ?]. Even today these people [poisoners] are feared although no poisonings have occurred "since a long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a living rain shaman, although dreaming was an essential part of success. A father usually taught one of his sons and left him his outfit when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[345] N.W. saw him when he was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[345] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

There were shamans who had learned from their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s ac-

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[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Y 756 825
[P.208 b] MIWOK NS16.

count may have applied to the Miwok also; it was not clear.

M 756 825 J.R.'s own father, a Miwok, used to handle rattlesnakes. They never bit him. During the night, while others were asleep, the snakes would come into the house and glide around that man's head. He knew it though the others in the house did not. Then he would take the intruders up in his hand, take them away from the village and turn them loose. This sometimes happened after daylight, so others saw what he was doing.

Y 756 825 J.R. knew of one snake-handler who failed. H.J.'s father could catch rattlesnakes. When he was a boy he used to play, would run his hands down squirrel holes. He did this for some time. Then he said he was going to catch and handle a rattlesnake, as he had seen the old doctors do. He lived with his mother by the creek, near the present apple orchard at Coarse Gold; his white father was already dead. Eventually he got hold of a rattler. He wrapped it in his big handkerchief and put it in his blouse. As he grew older he continued the practice. He said he could catch any snake and, if they bit him, it would not hurt. He thought he was going to be a snake doctor.

He would go around where the Roans lived, around Coarse Gold, sometimes on horseback. He would have a rattlesnake, not always the same one, around his head or around his arm, rattling all the time. Then he would go away again, maybe come back again. But he was often seen so adorned.

Once he came into the saloon with a very small snake, only a foot long. He had the snake on his hand. He laid it on the table, coiled. He moved his hand around in passing movements over the snake's head to make it sway its head about. Then he lowered his hand a little. The snake was watching him all the time, never moving Suddenly it struck, biting the man on the hand, first finger, second joint. Then the man said he had been bitten, and that he would go home and die. "Before I die, I will go home," he said. He lived, at that time, near the mission at Coarse Gold; he had a wife and two boys there. He went home. He lasted all that night. About morning, just after daybreak, he stopped talking and died. They kept him after he died, maybe a day (not the usual two to three days). Then they buried him a little way from where he had lived.

Bear Control

Some people controlled bears by means of supernatural power but they did not change themselves into bears.[150]

There was a man (name unknown) who would call a bear to come and visit him, and some-

[150]This family, M.W., C.D., etc., had never heard of bear transformation.

756 825 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her [522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians [535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 789 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doctors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 789 The spectacle was in the evening. An enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

W Y 224 [381] portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were observed. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.---B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[159] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or staggered to a safe distance, the man descended and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; naturally no one with a Bear totem was involved in the killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter did not indulge in any formulaic address or ritual before or after killing a bear.

W Y ●Y ●[825]

Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not essential to have a dream helper to be a skillful hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha ʔhaš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

W Y 224 776

Squirrel smoking.---Ground squirrels (šiti ʔla, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili ʔni mak šiti ʔla (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking, and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

[159] Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

1: Gayton E-6 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[EP.221 9] Western Mono N525

W Y 223 inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi č:t toho´na min šo´ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

W Y 223 231 The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo´n:n, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa´omus ipo´ku:k, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče´yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

W Y [431] The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

W ●Y 423 ●825 The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

W [P. 221C] Western Mono NS25
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423 things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it
825 is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in
W the same manner as that on the ground. It was
Y a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches
223 tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited
343 conditions. A beam to sit on was the main consideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

W Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as
Y well as for decoys. In either case they were
231 lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai
825 pigeon cages and tamed by the following method. The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down, in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always
Y tame" (B.O.).
223 The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber
343 for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably Yaudanchi).[161]

[161]Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 230 a[illegible] Western Mono NS25
W Y 823 192
W Y 805 192
Y [184]
W Y 773 821
W Y 825
W Y 773
W Y 622

peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
humwa´r*: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

Seasons:
ta´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Puš'i:n, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[185]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line

[185] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 232 a] Western Mono NS25

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Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

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Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

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The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was

accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, K·lmi´š·t, winatum, and the chief, Pao'·č, at Tušao.

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'·č was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, K·lmiš·t, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and K·lmiš·t stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'·č reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'·č was helped by all his ain·č." Then the old man would jerk the rope and K·lmiš·t would help hoist him up.

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'·č and K·lmiš·t "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini', "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Bear.---Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear [i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member] learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

[169] The identification of tua´kini' is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

Coyote.---Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n wit·p nuš (will be baby (?)), and the act of giving birth was called ax· diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the

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distance, was called mai''iwɛn by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[106] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

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The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainɛč) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai'puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a'oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[106] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

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Y saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušl:l:n and Ko'o (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušl:l:n said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušl:l:n replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

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Y The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

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Y The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (poha'gɛ) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭu'u'dəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

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Y A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Rancheria Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

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W Y 796 276 morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

W Y 752 Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminaroosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

W Y 796 276 The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

W ● Y 796 ● 825 751 756 The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokonːk and Puščːlːn, who were snake doctors (te'e'li čecisu'm, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya 'ːn" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

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On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokoni·k and Pušli·li·n each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya ʼ·in, maiya ʼ·in." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

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Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (tu ʼdum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

W Y 796 825 751 756 [541]

with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

W Y 796 541

Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa'na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

W Y [789]

S.O. could not say who provided this.

Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

616 cial trait. It is therefore remarkable that their southern tribes know nothing of the scheme.

This seems the more probable from the forms of the system. The Miwok divide all nature into two halves. Every individual's name has some expressed or connoted reference to one of the infinitely numerous animals or objects of the world's moiety that corresponds to his own social moiety. With the Yokuts only a limited number of animals are associated with each division. One of these is held as hereditary totem by every paternally descended family. The names of the people in such a line of descent have no connection [825] with the totem animal, but every individual in the family regards his inherited animal as his "dog"—the one word which the Indian possesses for the idea of "domestic animal" or "pet captive." The Yokuts totemism is thus more direct and emphatic than that of the Miwok, and to this degree may priority in its formulation be attributed to them.

[614] The Yokuts lines of male descent with the same totem obviously resemble clans. They fall short, however, of being clans in that they are not involved in marriage or exogamy, the moiety being the sole regulating factor in these matters, and in that they bear no group names.

This plan of social duality runs at right angles across the many [582] lines of tribal cleavage. The halves are the same, or are equated, everywhere; and a man marrying outside of his tribe confines himself to the opposite moiety exactly as if he chose his spouse at home.

The names of the moieties are the same in all the Yokuts tribes among which they have been recorded: *Tohelyuwish* and *Nutuwish*. *Tohil* signifies "downstream," which varies locally from south to [193] west and northwest; *not*, the opposite direction; *-u-wish* is a reflexive ending forming abstract nouns and names of practices and institutions.

The border Yokuts identify their moieties with the Miwok ones, and in case of intermarriage between the two peoples there is never a question about the proper correspondence of the divisions. The names, too, are similar, but, strangely, rather opposite. The Yokuts "upstream" is the Miwok "water" half, and "downstream" is the equivalent of "land."

The wide-range cleavage implied by this terminology, with its essential polarity, confirms the impression which is given by other features of the Miwok-Yokuts system, that it inherently has a dual ground plan, with the animal totems as an auxiliary development, and that it is not an organization of decayed clans secondarily grouped into moieties.

616 The representative animal of the *Tohelyuwish* division is the eagle.
825 Of birds, there further belong the raven and crow, blue jay, road run-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ner, and killdeer. Of quadrupeds, the bear is most prominent. Fox, wild cat, jack rabbit, beaver, and antelope are of the same group. 616 825

Coyote is the most conspicuous animal on the *Nutuwish* side. Associated with him are the *limik* or falcon, the buzzard, several species of hawks and owls, the quail, and the skunk.

In Yokuts legendary traditions tales of contests and competitions for superiority abound, which may in many cases reflect this totemic duality. Of this sort are struggles between the falcon and raven, coyote and eagle, condor and eagle, and between the deer of the upstream hills and the antelope of the downstream plains. In all these cases, except where the falcon is involved, the downstream animal triumphs. Only in a war of the uplanders against the lake people is coyote successful. In certain other tales the personages are not in opposition, but are all or nearly all of one division. Thus one tale tells of the deeds of coyote, falcon, and white owl; another of coyote, hawk, condor, and owl; a third of eagle, crow, road runner, and fox, with the lone coyote as a disturbing coadjutor; and so on. 616 773 825

It is even possible that the totemic affiliation of certain animals that are as yet unplaced in the social organization of the modern Yokuts can be reasonably predicted from the mythology. This applies not only to the deer and condor, but to the dog, the wood rat, the humming bird, the mountain quail, the woodpecker, and the spider on the *Nutuwish* side; while it seems almost as if in the legends of the southern Yokuts—although the institution itself is lacking—the falcon had been transferred from this to the *Tohelyuwish* division.

A Yokuts does not ask a stranger whether he is *Nutuwish* or *Tohelyuwish*, nor what his moiety may be, but: "What is your dog?" 616 609

As bear doctors speak of the grizzly bear as their "dog," a connection between the moiety animals and the guardian spirits of shamans might be imagined. The Yokuts, however, specifically distinguish between their inherited totemic animals, which they sometimes keep in captivity but which confer no distinctive powers on their persons, and the animals, spirits, or monsters that the impending shaman dreams of or encounters in a trance. 616 825 [787]

The balance of opposition between animals of the two moieties that runs through the legends has institutional parallels among the Yokuts themselves. Thus, formal games were between moieties. Each moiety had a distinctive style of body paint. In mourning rites the divisions acted reciprocally. From the Chukchansi to the Tachi, and perhaps farther, there was an eagle ceremony. The bird was killed by the coyote division, redeemed and received with manifestations of grief by the moiety of which it was representative. 616 796 825

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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This rite suggests the eagle-killing mourning ceremony of the Luiseño, among whose neighbors moieties recur. Among the Yokuts the eagle rite may not have stood alone. Other animals, of the *Nutuwish* as well as *Tohelyuwish* division, were killed, redeemed, and bewailed, it seems. So far as can be judged, this intrusion of the moieties into religious activities is greater among the Yokuts than with the Miwok.

As descent was reckoned from the father only, the children of brother and sister were of opposite moieties. Among the Miwok this at least contributed to the permissibility of the marriage of such children—cross cousins they are often called. The similar social organization and kinship nomenclature of the Yokuts suggests that they, too, may have married their cross cousins.

CHIEFS AND OFFICIALS.

The chief, as so often among the Pacific coast natives, was the rich man. A myth tells how Coyote, to avenge his attempted destruction ordered by Eagle, the chief, causes a six months' night to the distress of every one. Eagle sends him three sacks of beads to bring back the sun. Coyote sends back six sacks, restores daylight, and thus wins not only fame for magical power but prestige at outdoing the chief in liberality. Chiefs were also expected to know more, especially regarding religion, than common men. The son succeeded the father. As women occasionally became chiefs, it is evident that inheritance was an important factor, and that chieftainship was a regulated and established institution.

There were chiefs who headed tribes and were influential for several days' journey about. This is only natural under the superior solidarity of Yokuts organization. In addition, it is likely that there were lesser chiefs or headmen for the separate settlements in each tribe. Reports of confederacies of villages and bands formed by powerful chiefs probably rest on misinterpretation of the primacy of the tribal group over the village. The tribes had their chiefs born into them: they were not created by the chiefs. A chief of personality and judgment, especially if supported by wealth, would undoubtedly command attention and respect among his neighbors. But there is nothing to show that in the most favorable case he ever headed a formal league of tribes.

While chieftainship has been spoken of as if it were of the usual single-headed type, it was acually dual in tribes like the Tachi. There was a chief for each exogamic moiety. Whether this polarity applied to the tribal or the settlement heads is not clear. The authority of the pair was reckoned substantially equal; at least, they were expected to exercise it in cooperation. But the *Tohelyuwish*

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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the rite in order that none of the people might be bitten during the ensuing year. Proceeding in a procession to a rattlesnake den, they stamped and whistled before it, the head shaman directly facing the hole, the others on the sides to cut off the return of such snakes as might falter at the impending ordeal.

Soon, it is said, the snakes would emerge, usually preceded, it was believed, by a large lizard, and, drawn on by the leading shaman, they crawled straight to his feet, where they buried themselves in a winnowing basket filled with eagle down. Each medicine man in turn pointed out the snake he considered his, distracted its attention by swinging his *wacham* or hand-feathers, seized it, and carried it off in a sack. The worst snake of the lot was left for the head "doctor."

In the evening the tribe gathered under the inevitable shade. While the singers chanted particular melodies to the accompaniment of cocoon rattles the snake shamans walked about whistling, each with his death-bearing sack. They wore down-filled head nets and were painted in alternate horizontal stripes of white and red drawn across the body and limbs. From time to time they placed their bags on the heads of spectators, declaring that thus they determined who was subject to snake bite during the year.

On the following day these prospective victims of the serpents are cured in anticipation in order to prevent their being bitten. Although their infection is entirely imaginary and future, it is treated by the snake shamans by their usual medical means of sucking. The doctors even profess to extract from the not yet existing wound the actual poison—usually a rat's tail or tooth or a small snake—which has already been injected into the body by the future piercing of the skin by the rattlesnake's fangs. This is certainly magic with a vengeance; and it is difficult to imagine a logic of causality more in conflict with our own.

This precaution for the health of the community having been taken, the snake shamans display their powers to the multitude. They play with the snakes, throw them about, tease them to anger, allow them to bite themselves, and even hold them out hanging by their fangs from the thumb or hand.

The *kuyohoch* or "shaman killers"—in California the doctor is also potentially a nefarious wizard—then appear. Pretending to be trying to shoot the rattlesnake shamans, they make these beg for their lives and pay ransom for being spared.

The last act of the ceremony, the "stepping" itself, is also costly to the shamans, who, far from exploiting the community through their powers, as we might anticipate, are forced to accumulate much property in order to pass through the rite. The rattlesnakes are now

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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it was so used as a conscious metaphor or from deliberate desire to present as personal something known to be impersonal, or as general something known to be specifically limited. It is just as strained, or more so, to force this alternative on the less developed and simpler terminology of uncivilized people.

The choice that has been made between the understanding of *mana*, *orenda*, or *manitou* as denotive of an essence, or of a particularized ghostlike personality, has done violence to a distinctive quality of the concepts residing in these words, namely, their undifferentiated poise between our two extreme formulations. A native who has learned the significance of our phrases "essence," "pervading quality," "intangible diffused power," will of his own accord give these definitions for his own concept; but at other times he will as blithely render it by "spirit" in the sense of something limited, personal, and spatial.

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With the Chukchansi, *beniti* means clairvoyant, and among the Yauelmani *suhua* denotes the faculty of magical creation out of nothing by means of blowing.

A ghost is *hichwaiu* or *hitwaia* to the Yokuts. The soul is called *ilit* by the Tachi. The word for heart, *honhon* or *honghong*, is not used in this sense.

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There is bare possibility that shamanism, the individual relation of persons to what is *tipni*, is distantly related to the totemic observances and beliefs of the Yokuts, but specific evidences of direct connections are rare. One of the few is the coincidence that both the "pet" or captive or totemic animal, and the doctor's guardian spirit from whom his *tipni* power emanates, are called *puus* or *cheshesh*, "dog"; *cheshesh nim ngohoo*, "my dog is the grizzly bear," a Yaudanchi bear shaman says. But again, poverty of vocabulary can not be relied upon to prove a common growth of institutions.

SOURCE OF THE SHAMAN'S POWER.

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The northern California idea of shamanistic power is bound up with the notion of control over small, animate, disease-bearing objects, these material "pains" having many of the faculties of spirits. This special form of the nearly universal concept that sickness is produced by an injected substance is not even in rudiment a part of the San Joaquin Valley culture. The Yokuts shaman owns a spirit. This may be a monster, or an animal that turns into a man, or possibly a permanently disembodied spirit. It is certainly most often one of the two former. It may be met in actuality, or dreamed of, or both. But it is a being, with an independent existence, and with a defined relation between it and the medicine man; not a little noxious thing, a sort of animated fetish or amulet, that he swallows and keeps inside his body.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*.

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*.

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne.

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located.

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the surround. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of *Peek'-ook*, the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich*, or professional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis*, or annual ceremony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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CHAPTER X

ARTISTRY

YOKUTS BASKETRY DESIGNS

177 285 531 The most disappointing thing, and one which must be first considered in approaching the subject of basketry designs, is the influence which white "collectors" have had upon the prehistoric designs. Among the many collections which have been made throughout the eastern part of the San Joaquin Valley there are many forms of basketry which have been made to please enthusiastic, if not wise, collectors. This *white* influence reached its greatest depth when Indian basket makers were required to cover whiskey bottles and demijohns with stitched basket materials, copying designs from calico prints.

285 531 The rattlesnake was in olden times probably never shown with a head or tail. Only the pattern on the back of the snake was copied and very cleverly applied to the basket. The snake designs are probably most common of any and are certainly among the most realistic. The stitching of the coiled basket reproduces in a most life-like way the scales of the snake and allows these patterns to be reproduced, although in conventional form, quite true to life. The most common snake forms used are the rattlesnake, king snake, gopher snake, garter snake, and water snake.

The rattlesnake design was often used in connection with the "bottle neck" basket, which was at one time so common on Kaweah, Kern and Tule Rivers. A conventional ant, water skater and quail design is often used in connection with the rattlesnake. The full history of this design is obscured in the past. Quail is represented by a black mark resembling the feathers from the top of his head. Four rectangles form a perfectly charming water skater. Ants are represented by small square dots in groups, or in lines resembling ant trails.

285 531 825 776 The Yokuts rattlesnake was private secretary, or *Winatun,* for *Tihpiknits,* the Yokuts Saint Peter. It was the duty of the rattlesnake to crawl about and locate the Yokuts who were not behaving as good citizens. He sent their names to Tihpiknits, who called them in.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 531 825 773 776 Quail was the champion of fair play. Water skater was a messenger, or Winatun. Ant was the person who meted out punishment. As far as the Yokuts knew, for his size, the ant had the most painful sting of anything about them. The story that has been preserved of designs incorporating these three elements is that there was once a bad rattlesnake who turned in the names of good people who were called in by Tihpiknits. Quail learned of this and told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants, who stung rattlesnake to death and ate him.

285 531 Deer tracks (*hoey'-in trut*) are often used in basket designs and are many times mistaken by collectors to represent arrow points. They are generally represented by two small slender triangles having the adjacent sides parallel and placed close together.

Caterpillars, or worms, are shown by zig-zag lines, often in close series, representing the march of great masses of worms, or in small straight lines about the edge of the basket and representing individual worms.

Sometimes lightning is shown upon the basket and resembles very closely our own conventional form for lightning. The pine tree is represented by a series of triangles placed above each other and gradually diminishing in size toward the top.

Wild geese are very cleverly represented, the brant being easily recognized, although a peculiar conventional form is used. A small rectangle, the outline of which is worked in black, has across the center of it a broad perpendicular dark band which brings to mind quite clearly the marking on the wing of the goose. Extending from one corner of the rectangle at an angle of about forty-five degrees is a straight line which terminates in a short horizontal line representing the head. A series of these figures begins at the bottom of the basket and spirals to the right or left toward the top, illustrating not only the individual bird, but in a very effective way the formation so commonly assumed in flight. Because of the sloping lines above this design, foothill Yokuts generally refer to it as quail, instead of goose.

The bow and arrow is also represented in conventional form, generally by small triangular shapes which really picture arrow points and represent, according to basket makers, not only the arrow, but the bow as well. I have only once seen

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawpnaw*, an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawpnaw*, no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

From Tawpnaw, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohut* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary of *Tihpiknits*, keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I. operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to Tihpiknits, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to Tihpiknits *Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates Tihpiknits' orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. 796
It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

775 there every night, just like they used to do here. They play games and have a good time. They eat *toi'-uk* seed mush which never gets any smaller, no matter how much they eat. In the morning they all disappear and nothing can be seen of them until the next night, when the *Win-at'-un* [dove, the messenger] builds new fires for the dances and calls them all back to their natural selves. You may walk through any nice place in the trees where the Indians hold their Lonewis dances for Tihpiknits Pahn. In the daytime you can not see any of the people. They have changed into a rotten log, clam shell, or something. At night you have to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural] to see them. I never saw them. I just heard Indian doctors say that. But we always go very quiet through a nice place out in the trees.

775 In Tihpiknits Pahn, *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, and Tihpiknits are
825 always playing the old game of *Hih'-sa Na'-us*. When Tihpiknits wins, someone of us must die and go to Tihpiknits Pahn. When Kiyu wins he tries to bite Tihpiknits and pulls feathers from him.

Kiyu throws the feathers that he pulls from Tihpiknits to the south and the north wind brings them to us in the form of the first white geese of the winter. When we saw the white geese come we used to say, "Well, I guess Kiyu won that time". When we heard *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the little ground owl, call in the evening, we knew Tihpiknits had won and that someone was dying. Watite was the Winatun for the Ahanich who sang at the Lonewis.

159 Watite, the little ground owl, lives in squirrel holes. His
825 head looks like an Indian woman's head when she has cut her bangs and her hair off with a fire stick and is crying for someone who has died. We used to sing a nice song about him. It is a *Wowol* song. My mother taught it to me. When I cried about anything she would hold up her first finger and say, "*Lahn'-he*, listen, Watite hears you crying and he is singing for you." She would make a little play. She would put her hand on top of her head to make it flat like Watite's. She would make a move with her other hand like she was cutting her hair off and cutting her bangs for the Lonewis. She would stand on one leg and draw the other up like Watite does. Of course my mother was an old woman when she died. But I remember her to sing this song for me when she was a young, pretty woman. She was always good to me. Every day she

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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would sing and laugh and dance for me. Before she finished the song I would be laughing. It went like this:

Po'kook ..	*Yo-patch'-noo* ..	*Tah'-eh nek'-tah*
(ground owl call)	(as of old)	(I have a flat head)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Ma-wih'-sin*	*Pih-tre'-no*
(as of old)	(I cut with fire)	(my bangs)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Teh'hiks*	*Nahm*
(as of old)	(my leg hurts)	(me)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Too-lo'-lool*	*Nim o'-tro*
(as of old)	(I burn or cut)	(my hair)

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A long time ago the Indians found out all about Tihpiknits Pahn. That is what they say. That is what I heard. I will tell you all about it.

A very good couple lived in an old Wowol Indian village. They were both good people. They were honest and they were good to each other. One day the wife died. The husband was overcome with grief. So were his parents-in-law.

After the wife was buried the husband would not leave her grave for a minute. He stayed there day and night for two days and three nights. Early on the third night the husband heard a noise in the grave. He listened and watched very closely. Finally he saw his wife come up out of the grave.

The husband kept very quiet. He saw his wife shake the earth from her clothes. She shook the earth from her hair and carefully put it back in place. She rearranged all of her clothes and rubbed her hands over her face. Then she looked in all directions. Soon she started toward the north.

Following quietly, the husband soon saw that the wife knew he was behind. She finally turned and told him to go on back to his people and stay there, that she was going to Tihpiknits Pahn to stay. But the husband did not want to go back. He wanted to be with his wife. So he followed her on.

At daylight the wife turned into a rotten log and the husband watched until dusk. He had to keep awake all of the time. At dusk the wife became her natural self and went on her way to the north.

The third night, when the wife became her proper form she again spoke to her husband. She told him that she must go a long way to the north and that he could not follow her, that there was a dangerous bridge to cross and that he would fall into the water. Besides, she told him, he was alive and would

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 825 854 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong. We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 352 854 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wukchumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 854 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 361 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 439 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

773 825 To sum up, Yokuts verbal narratives embodying world history pictured a prototype of the world as they themselves knew it: man and animals changed places, so to say. And, if Yokuts imagination projected backwards the social system of their present, it no less brought forward and attributed to living animals the power they had in the past. Hence, the Yokuts view of the animal world was of more than a subsistence potential. Animals were a power potential as well. It is notable that mythic interest and importance was spread among several species of birds and animals; a few were important but there was no single hero or trickster who usurped the spotlight.

825 This rather tedious recital leads to a most characteristic circumstance of Yokuts and Western Mono culture: that men and animals are peers. The animals were here first; today all dwell together, and while men may exploit these creatures for food and power they may not do so without due regard for their reactive and capricious qualities. It is difficult to convey the subtleties of Yokuts-Mono attitudes, their own position relative to other living beings in the world, without resorting to anecdote. As an example, then:

> Palaha, who was a fine hunter, told of an experience. He set up a rude platform in an oak tree where he intended to hide just before dawn to drop acorns down as a bear lure, then shoot the animal as it fed. He went out as planned—it was barely light. As he came under the tree something hit him on the head; acorns were falling from the platform. Looking up, he saw a small bear standing on the framework and nuzzling at the hoard of bait which rolled off the sides. This Palaha thought excessively funny: that their postions should be reversed, and that the bear was doing to him what he had intended doing to the bear. But beyond this was the sense that the bear thought it funny too, that somehow it was intentional on the animal's part to indulge in a humorous trick.

So often has this intangible appeared when Yokuts or Western Mono speak of the activities of birds and animals that it is clearly an unconscious or unvoiced attitude of equivalence as living creatures in one small world.

The most potent and personal association between the Yokuts-Mono and their faunal contemporaries was manifest in the combination of social and religious systems which provided an animal symbol of patrilineal source to every person. This creature was no less a source of supernatural power than others of the animal world which might be approached for aid if superhuman enablement were desired. A specific relation between tutelary and protégé (po´ša and pošá´m, respectively) existed both for the totemic (patrilineally inherited) animal and for the randomly sought individual animal patron. There was probably no 825 person in Yokuts and Western Mono society who did not have what we may 782 call a social symphysis with some animal, at least in incipient form, and in most

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cases moderately strengthened by reverential observances such as abstinence from its flesh (compulsory for a totemite), propitiation by prayer and eagle-down offerings, dream contact, and possession of a sacred symbolic talisman. In most highly developed form for shamanistic or power quests, these behaviors became a personal preoccupation essential to the maintenance of a beneficent attitude on the part of the animal tutelary.

The reverence for Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Bear, Coyote (and lesser creatures in lesser ways) was actualized in ceremonies performed over their carcasses by persons of those lineages they symbolized, and witnessed by the usual audience of interested and, in part, participating villagers. The hunters of deer had to observe care in handling their kill. The underlying motive of these acts was that animals who were not "treated right" on this earth, at death reported to their prehistoric counterparts in their eastern home, and the offended creatures would no longer give their support (as either a subsistence or a power source) to the transgressor.

Although in theory it was the primordial animal in its vague eastern home which motivated its living counterpart, it was the latter with which the people were concerned. The reverential relation was a direct one, and in turn it was from the actual animal that help came. Many anecdotes from Yokuts and Mono describe how the tutelary suddenly appeared in a moment of need, though the mechanism of help, beyond a mere appearance, is left undefined—presumably it was "power" (ṭi'pni) that forced success.

The personal-and-animal association was formalized socially in professional shamanism and politically in the official capacities of chief, messenger, and dance manager—cultural elaborations which have been described elsewhere. And the informal culture of Yokuts and Western Mono abounded in minor, casual usages and references to faunal life.

For the sake of rounding out the picture and not emphasizing exclusively the aspect of culture with which we are concerned, a brief note should be made of Yokuts rituals which were not related explicitly to the extra-personal world. Brief is sufficient, for there was only one set of rituals, that for "life crises," which were not engaged with or dependent upon some seasonal condition in nature. These were the naming of an infant, the mother's cleansing rite, girl's puberty (betrothal) rite,[21] and the private mourning ceremony. With the exception of the naming ceremony all were ritual cleansing ceremonies following the

21 A formal marriage by gift exchange might occur after the betrothal at first menses, but the two rites were not clearly separated by Yokuts and Western Mono; either or both might be made, but the second was not emphasized and seldom followed the first.

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thousand complexities it lives and moves in constant impingement upon simple dwellers on the earth. Much of that life and movement is regular and repetitive: the weather, floral, and faunal changes on a broad seasonal scale, and lightness and darkness, sun, moon, and stars, temperatures, animal and floral behaviors were on schedule in the narrow diurnal round. 182

The reiterative factor would seem to be an impressive one in the maintenance of cultural activity which has once been linked to it: the right time comes for a complex of behaviors—a ceremony—and that time is an ephemeral thing which the culture must meet in a series of events of immutable order. The natural schedule cannot be changed, and the ceremonies are performed—if they are to be performed at all—at the convenience of the environment, not the convenience of the people, so to say.

External reminders of cultural forms were met at any turn in the trail, on every hand, day in and day out, where animal creatures roamed or flew. They were living symbols of themselves in the religious and political systems of Yokuts-Mono culture, and as inescapable in their roles of superhuman contributors to the mode of Yokuts life as were any utilitarian plants or trees which provided materials for foods and tools. Inasmuch as the environmentally attuned parts of Yokuts-Mono culture were nuclear or thematic the natural features in which they had their basis may be said to have some dynamic force as cultural integrators in the functional sense.[22]

However, I am too uncertain as to how integration (as a cultural process) may work in actuality to wish to propose that cultural changes away from these forms could not occur. For example, the symbol might become more important than the actuality, e. g., the weazel's skin, the shaman's sacred talisman imbued with supernatural power, might usurp the shaman's concern with the beast itself in real life and in his dreams. Shifts in emphasis are unpredictable and entirely possible even while forms still are mechanically adjusted to external features. The mere fact that a thing—say Eagle—has one hundred connotations in Yokuts culture against one of Goldfinch does not preclude loss of Eagle's role in that culture, although the greater entrenchment is in his favor.[23]

I do not want to evade the psychological aspects of cultural integration for it seems to me that no full discussion of it as a dynamic or functional process can

22 See Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture.*

23 A somewhat amusing aside here: the appearance of metal money with Eagle thereon was in perfect conformity with aboriginal Yokuts thought. Eagle, as the symbol of the chiefly lineage and as the dream-helper for acquisition of wealth, was manifestly not only the rightful but the inevitable imprint for the invading White culture's coinage—as informants frequently and proudly pointed out.

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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a conditioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

182 Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed 787 to understand the composition of their mental imagery, which had these things, 825 and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

152 There is some suggestion in my materials and experience with Yokuts and Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the 182 dream-helper animal once a constant relationship had been established between 787 tutelary and protégé. Emotional pleasure, pride, and satisfaction ("security" 825 perhaps) in the tutelary's benevolence, and anxiety over loss of this benevolence through either offense to the animal or of loss of the power to a malicious

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shaman, was exhibited time and again. Of this I am sure: that the sense of intimacy between a person and "his" actual animals in the environment was deep and real. Thus, for example: "Rattlesnake is my poša; if he'd bitten any other horse it would have killed him sure—but it didn't kill *mine*";[24] "Eagle was mad at me; that's why my baby was sick" (excessive milk curds diagnosed as Eagles faeces in an infant's mouth). This association, between an individual and an animal, routed through the religious or social system, is the personalized aspect of the more general human-animal equation appearing in broader terms in the culture (as exemplified in the earlier anecdote).

In a culture with both material and intangible concern for features of its natural surroundings it seems difficult to dismiss environment as "of rather minor importance in personality formation."[25] Even though, "between the natural environment and the individual there is always interposed a human environment [culture] which is vastly more significant,"[26] the role of external environment in the human environment (culture) can be of major importance and therefore, through the cultural mechanism, be of deep psychological significance. It is possible that a basic element of the mental state known as nostalgia, or the state of intense uneasiness in strange surroundings, is the year by year, life long conditioning of an individual to a specific topographic configuration, flora, and fauna.[27] The subtle interplay of locale or geographic form and personal psychology have been disclosed in a recent study of Yurok childhood orientation.[28]

The intense immediacy of native environment in all its aspects is a condition not too easily realized by the academic field investigator from our own denaturalized civilization, especially when the people under study already have lost their aboriginal setting—as have most of our North American Indians. The natural condition might be succinctly stated as: the less culture, the more environment. The anthropologist is hyper-conscious of the cultural mechanism as the selective or distorting lens through which the native views his environment. But for the native the lens does not exist; he deals directly with the externals which impinge upon him. Environments are seen and modulated in terms of the reacting cul-

24 The ill-logic (in our thinking) that a "benevolent" rattlesnake should have bitten the man's horse *at all*, is completely submerged in the prideful satisfaction that the horse did not die, was merely temporarily ill and recovered.

25 Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), p. 11.

26 *Loc. cit.*

27 Cf. Morris Edward Opler, *Dirty Boy: a Jicarilla Tale of Raid and War* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, no. 52, 1938), pp. 12, 33.

28 Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 35, no. 10, 1943).

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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

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[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and toccac; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

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People were often warned of coming sickness by a frightening experience devised by the doctor involved. In such a case the fright was considered the cause of death as much as the sickness itself. Thus a doctor would send a coyote to scare a man. The man seeing the coyote under peculiar circumstances would know at once that a doctor was after him and would bring on a self-induced illness. Doctors often frightened people by sending owls to hoot outside their houses at night.[83] A doctor might send a dove to a group of people sitting outdoors. It would fall down and die near some one, and that person was doomed. It was certain that a doctor had sent it, as no ordinary bird would do such a thing of its own accord. Doctors' supernatural messengers, foretelling death, also visited persons in dreams.

Two doctors might decide to kill another shaman. They took their basket trays and went off to some knoll which was their customary meeting place. Plain people did not dare go there. They would make a fire and talk the matter over. When they had decided what kind of death, that is slow or sudden, to inflict upon their victim, one of the doctors would get out his eagle bone whistle. He would run around the fire, whistling as he went. The other shaman would hold his tray up to the sun to get power on it. He talked to the sun. The magic "shot" that appeared he put on the tray; the shot is said to look like seeds or salmon eggs. Then the doctors exchanged activities, and the second doctor would get all the power that was left. Then they crashed the trays upon the ground and the shot flew off into their victim, no matter how far away. They would get a coyote to visit the house of the doomed man. During the night one of the doctors would go to the victim's house and walk around it. As he did so he would stamp on the ground, wave a talisman in the air, and say "Now I've got you!" (or an analogous phrase). The doctor within the house slept soundly: his own power was "covered up," and his dream helpers could not come to his aid. In two or three days he would fall ill. The malicious shaman would repeat his circuit of the house on several nights. The sick man would call some other doctor to cure him but it would be of no avail. The shaman called in might be able to diagnose the cause of the illness but he would be afraid to tell who the criminals were lest he be killed by them. The two conspiring shamans would continue to go out every night and talk to their dream helpers, saying, "I want that man to die!" Usually a slow death was visited upon the unfortunate shaman. During his illness the sick man would call on all his helpers; he would try all his talismans but they would be useless. He would die anyway unless he were a man with extraordinary supernatural power.[84]

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[83] Coyotes and owls were supernatural servants of shamans.

[84] The bulk of the information in this paragraph was given by Sam Osborn.

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the [illegible] in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, [illegible]ating parts of the cultural mechanism. [773] In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of ways. [773] Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it, [614] [825]

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teasel, thresh out the seed and make flour of it; also wild rye and wild sunflower seed. They eat grass-nuts (*Cyperus*) and the seeds of the same, a plant with a triangular stalk. In the mountains they used to fire the forests, and thereby catch great quantities of grasshoppers and caterpillars already roasted, which they devoured with relish, and this practice kept the underbrush burned out, and the woods much more open and park-like than at present. This was the case all along the Sierra. But since about 1862, for some reason or other, the yield of grasshoppers has been limited. They are fond of a huge, succulent worm, resembling the tobacco-worm, which is roasted; also the larvæ of yellow-jackets, which they pick out and eat raw. Dogs are reared (or were) largely for the flesh which they supply, which is accounted by them a special dainty, and which comes well in play, like the farmer's yellow-legged chicken, when other meat is scarce. Unlike the Miwok, they eat skunks.

Among the animals which are, in some sort, sacred to them, is the rattlesnake (*te'-el*), which they never destroy. A story is related of an Indian who captured one on the plains and carefully conveyed it into the mountains, where he released it, that it might be less liable to the attacks of white men; and of another, who, seeing an American about to destroy one, scared it into the rocks that it might escape. The coyote also moved among them with perfect impunity, for he is revered as the creator of the universe. Before the impious American came, these animals swarmed thick about every mountain rancheria, and they often chased the dogs into the village itself. An old hunter says he has seen Indian dogs more than once turn on a coyote and drive it off a few rods, when it would fall on its side, turn up its legs, and commence playing with them. It is a singular fact that, in the Gallinoméro language, *haĭ'-yu* denotes "dog", while in the Yokuts *haĭ'-yu* means "coyote". Indeed, to judge from his appearance to this day, the Indian dog is an animal in whose genealogy the coyote largely assisted. In the Wintūn language the word for "coyote" is literally "hill-dog".

Some of the medical practice, and all of the midwifery, are performed by the women. In cases of severe travail they frequently employ a decoction of scraped bear's claws. Again, the nurse will smear her palms with

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757 pine sugar, hold them before the fire until it is melted, then lay them gently on the abdomen of the parturient. The sweat-house everywhere prevails, [171] of course, but it is smaller among these southern out-door people than it is farther north, being never used for a council-house or a dance-house.

791 The rain-maker, or wizard, though very potent, can be put to death by vote of a council, in case a patient dies under his treatment. Occasionally the manner of his taking-off is still more tragic. The Mono, being unsophisticated mountaineers, originally had no professional wizards, and in 1864 a Yokuts, named Sacate, went up from the plains to them, and for a time prosecuted an extremely lucrative practice. But he finally lost a case, and thereupon the simple and sincere Mono, being unable to comprehend how a man whose function was to save life could lose it and be guiltless, crushed in his skull with a stone.

[276] These wizards sometimes chew the seeds of the jimson-weed (*Datura meteloides*) to induce delirium, which their dupes regard as the touch of an unseen power, and their crazy ravings as divinely-inspired oracles. It is related that an ambitious wizard once chewed too much seed and yielded up the ghost.

731 An old Indian, named Chu-chu'-ka, relates that many years ago there
164 was a terrible plague which raged on both sides of the Fresno, destroying thousands of lives. According to his account it was a black-tongue disease. Abundant evidences of his truthfulness have been discovered in the shape of bones. A man named Holt was digging a ditch on Ray's ranch, near [172] Sand Creek, and found such an immense number of bones about eighteen inches under the surface that, after digging three hundred yards, he was forced to abandon the undertaking. On Hildreth's ranch, near Pool-of-Water, a large box of human bones was collected in making a garden.

791 It is the custom of the wizards to hold every spring the rattlesnake
796 dance (*ta-tu'-lo-wis*), which is a source of great profit to the cunning rogues. They plant green boughs in a circle, inclosing a space fifty or sixty yards
825 in diameter, wherein the performances are held, as are most of the Yokuts' dances. The great audience is congregated in the middle, while the wizards dance around the circle, next to the arboreal wall. Besmeared with [302] numerous and fantastic streaks of paint, and gorgeously topped with feath-

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ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
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171 616 551 Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

616 825 Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwuts moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwuts moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver.

171 Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

171 616 The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratries, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

[386] Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

171 616 607 Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
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513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow poles.[10]

221 [312] 361 [137] The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless, practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 [501] The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San 262 824 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk. The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass [423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by [428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other 439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in trade.

136 262 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin (*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 [224] In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year, the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope. [439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
578 Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
578 Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
578 the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
798 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285] [415] [531]

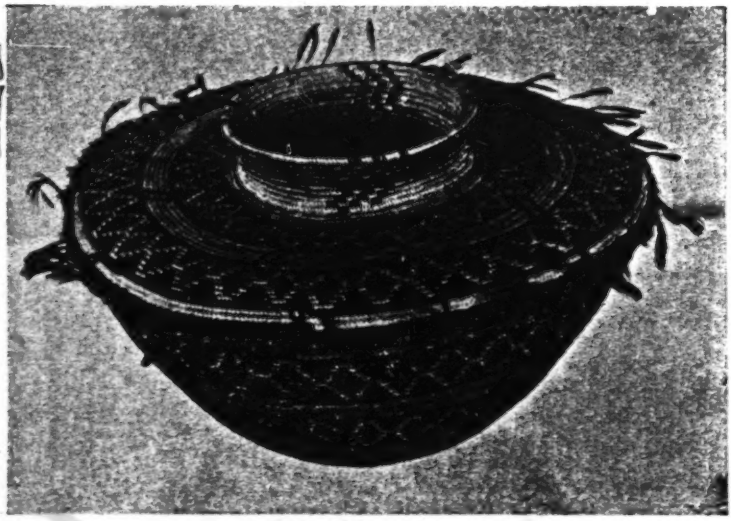

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down behind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket. [789]

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75). 533

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Davis Sapagay is given in text. This song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area. 538

Davis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yee okonaw palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke wey na yo ke wa ke wa	where green scum is on the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater entrance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake (kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by. 539 756 [789] [825]

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[583] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10]Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11]The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12]The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[p.11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p.11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE 13 IS ON p.11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]